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# BANQUET

GIVEN BY THE

LEARNED SOCIETIES OF PHILADELPHIA

AT THE

*AMERICAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC*

SEPTEMBER 17, 1887

CLOSING THE CEREMONIES IN COMMEMORATION OF THE  
FRAMING AND SIGNING

OF THE

**Constitution of the United States**

---

PHILADELPHIA  
PRINTED FOR THE COMMITTEE

1888





BANQUET  
COMMEMORATING THE FRAMING  
OF THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
SEPTEMBER 17, 1887.

---

THE thought naturally suggested itself that on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of the Framing and Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States the older institutions of learning, of art, and of science in Philadelphia should bear some important part. Their origin was due to the same intelligent and energetic public spirit which made Philadelphia the home of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, and which has caused her to become the shrine of American patriotic sentiment. Their prosperous careers, beginning at the time when it was the ambition of every man of scientific attainments to become a member of the American Philosophical Society, when every physician regarded Benjamin Rush as the head of his profession, and every artist felt a pride in the recognition accorded to the talents of Benjamin West, continued down to the present, as exemplified in the activities of the University of Pennsylvania, the Franklin Institute, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are a proof that under the Constitution which provides for civil government and protects religious liberty is also fostered every agency needful for the development of the highest civilization. The dignity of these institutions, and their harmonious relations toward each other,

made it eminently proper that, acting in concert, they should, in some suitable way, entertain the distinguished guests of Philadelphia, and close the scene of that impressive celebration.

The suggestion made in the first instance by the University of Pennsylvania met with a cordial response from the other Societies interested, and resulted in the appointment of committees from the active membership of each of them. They were :

WILLIAM PEPPER, M.D.,  
Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

FREDERICK FRALEY,  
President of the American Philosophical Society.

S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,  
President of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

ISAAC ELWELL,  
President of the Law Academy of Philadelphia.

BRINTON COXE,  
President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

JOSEPH M. WILSON,  
President of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania.

GEORGE S. PEPPER,  
President of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

JOSEPH LEIDY, M.D.,  
President of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

CHARLES C. HARRISON,  
SAMUEL DICKSON,  
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,  
CADWALADER BIDDLE,  
WHARTON BARKER,  
WILLIAM A. INGHAM,  
JOHN ASHHURST, JR., M.D.,  
RICHARD A. CLEEMANN, M.D.,  
J. GRANVILLE LEACH,  
RICHARD C. MCMURTRIE,  
GEORGE DE B. KEIM,

WILLIAM SELLERS,  
WILLIAM P. TATHAM,  
EDWIN T. EISENBREY,  
FREDERICK D. STONE,  
CHARLES HENRY HART,  
HENRY WHELEN, JR.,  
JOHN H. PACKARD, M.D.,  
THOMAS MEEHAN,  
JACOB BINDER,  
WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE,  
THEODORE D. RAND.

The following organization was effected :

WILLIAM PEPPER, M.D., *Chairman.*

WHARTON BARKER, *Treasurer.*

FREDERICK D. STONE, *Secretary.*

## LIST OF COMMITTEES.

### EXECUTIVE.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,	CHARLES HENRY HART,
S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,	J. GRANVILLE LEACH,
SAMUEL DICKSON,	THEODORE D. RAND,
CADWALADER BIDDLE,	WILLIAM P. TATHAM.

### FINANCE.

FREDERICK FRALEY,	WILLIAM SELLERS,
WHARTON BARKER,	GEORGE DE B. KEIM,
CHARLES C. HARRISON.	

### INVITATIONS.

J. GRANVILLE LEACH,	SAMUEL DICKSON,
S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,	JOHN ASHHURST, JR., M.D.,
CHARLES HENRY HART.	

### RECEPTION.

CHARLES HENRY HART,	JOHN H. PACKARD, M.D.,
S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,	WILLIAM A. INGHAM,
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### MUSIC AND DECORATION.

EDWIN T. EISENBREY,	THOMAS MEEHAN,
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THEODORE D. RAND.	

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RICHARD A. CLEEMANN, M.D.,	EDWIN T. EISENBREY,
CADWALADER BIDDLE,	HENRY WHELEN, JR.,
WILLIAM A. INGHAM.	

### TOAST.

SAMUEL DICKSON,	RICHARD C. MCMURTRIE,
WILLIAM PEPPER, M.D.,	WILLIAM P. TATHAM,
ISAAC ELWELL.	

Invitations were sent to the President of the United States and members of his Cabinet; the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; the leading members of Congress; the General of the Army; the Admiral of the Navy; Foreign Ministers, and other persons noted for their achievements in war and in statecraft, for their attainments in literature, art, and science, and for their social prominence.

Invitations were accepted by the following persons :

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 SEÑOR DOMINGO GANA, Minister of Chili.  
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 SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, England.  
 COUNT CHAMBRUN, France.  
 S. P. MAKIETCHANG, Special Imperial Envoy of China.

CONSUL-GENERAL J. R. PLANTEN, Netherlands.  
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 HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*, Pennsylvania.  
 F. C. BREWSTER, Jr., *Assistant Secretary*, Pennsylvania.

The following members of the societies participating, and their friends, were also present:

Adler, John M., M.D.	Banks, George W.
Agnew, D. Hayes, M.D.	Barker, Abraham.
Allen, Harrison, M.D.	Barker, Wharton.
Allen, Robert P.	Baugh, Daniel.
Allinson, Edward P.	Bausman, J. W. B.
Ashburner, C. A.	Beaman, Charles C.
Ashhurst, Richard L.	Beasley, C. Oscar.
Ashman, Hon. William N.	Belfield, T. Brown.
	Bergner, C. W.
Baeder, Charles B.	Biddle, Alexander.
Baily, Joel J.	Biddle, Cadwalader.
Baird, John.	Biddle, Thomas A.
Baird, John E.	Binder, Jacob.
Baird, Thomas E.	Bingham, George A.
Baker, Alfred G.	Bispham, George Tucker.
Baker, William de Ford.	Blanchard, William.
Baker, William S.	Blankenburg, Rudolph.
Banes, Charles H.	Bodine, Francis L.

- Bonnaffon, F. V.  
 Bonwill, W. G. A.  
 Boyé, Martin H.  
 Bradford, T. Hewson, M.D.  
 Brock, Arthur.  
 Brock, Robert C. H.  
 Brockie, William.  
 Brooke, Francis M.  
 Broomall, John M.  
 Brown, Alexander P.  
 Budd, Henry.  
 Bullitt, John C.  
  
 Cadwalader, Charles E., M.D.  
 Cadwalader, John.  
 Caldwell, Stephen A.  
 Cassidy, Lewis C.  
 Catherwood, J. H.  
 Catherwood, H. W.  
 Cattell, Henry S.  
 Cattell, Rev. William C.  
 Caven, Joseph L.  
 Childs, George W.  
 Clapp, B. Frank.  
 Clark, E. W.  
 Cleemann, Richard A.  
 Coates, Edward H.  
 Coates, George M.  
 Coates, William M.  
 Cochran, Thomas.  
 Cochran, William.  
 Cohen, Charles J.  
 Cohen, J. Solis, M.D.  
 Coleman, H. T.  
 Comegys, B. B.  
 Cooper, Thomas V.  
 Cox, John Bellangee.  
 Cox, Brinton.  
 Cox, Eckley B.  
 Cox, Edwin T.  
  
 Cramp, Charles H.  
 Cramp, Theodore.  
 Cramp, William M.  
 Cresson, George V.  
 Cruice, Robert B., M.D.  
 Cummin, H. H.  
 Cummins, D. B.  
  
 Da Costa, J. M., M.D.  
 Darrach, James, M.D.  
 Delamater, G. W.  
 Delano, Eugene.  
 Dick, Frank M.  
 Dickson, Samuel.  
 Disston, Hamilton.  
 Dixon, Edwin S.  
 Dixon, Samuel G., M.D.  
 Dolan, Thomas.  
 Donaldson, Thomas.  
 Dougherty, James.  
 Dreer, Ferdinand J.  
 Drexel, Anthony J.  
 Dudley, Thomas H.  
 Dupont, Henry A.  
  
 Edelheim, Carl.  
 Edmunds, Henry R.  
 Egle, William Henry, M.D.  
 Eisenbrey, Edwin T.  
 Ellison, Rodman B.  
 Elwell, Isaac.  
 Embick, Colonel F. E.  
 Emery, Titus S.  
  
 Faries, Edgar D.  
 Farrelly, Stephen.  
 Fell, John R.  
 Fields, Charles J.  
 Fisher, Ellicott.  
 Fisher, George Harrison.

Fisher, Henry M., M.D.  
 Fitler, Edwin H.  
 Fotherall, Stephen B.  
 Fox, Daniel M.  
 Fox, George S.  
 Fraley, Frederick.  
 French, H. B.  
 Friesen, Baron, Oldenburg.

Garrison, Abraham.  
 Gibbs, W. W.  
 Gibson, Henry C.  
 Gillingham, Joseph E.  
 Goodell, C. William, M.D.  
 Goodman, H. Ernst, M.D.  
 Goodwin, William W.  
 Graff, Frederick.  
 Gray, Henry W.  
 Grey, Samuel H.  
 Griscom, Clement A.  
 Griscom, W. W.  
 Gross, A. Haller.  
 Grove, J. H., M.D.

Haldeman, George W.  
 Hale, John Mills.  
 Hall, Augustus R.  
 Hallowell, Frederick Fraley.  
 Handy, Moses P.  
 Hargraves, W. H. C.  
 Harrah, Charles J.  
 Harris, Joseph S.  
 Harrison, Alfred C.  
 Harrison, Charles C.  
 Hart, Charles.  
 Hart, Charles Henry.  
 Haydon, James C.  
 Helme, William.  
 Hensel, W. U.  
 Hildeburn, Charles R.

Hill, R. H. C.  
 Hollingsworth, Samuel S.  
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 Horstmann, Walter.  
 Houston, Edwin J.  
 Houston, Henry H.  
 Houston, Samuel F.  
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 Howe, H. M., M.D.  
 Hutton, Addison.

Ingham, William A.

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 Jayne, Horace.  
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 Jones, Horatio Gates.  
 Jones, J. Levering.  
 Jordan, John W.

Kaercher, George R.  
 Keen, Gregory B.  
 Keim, George De B.  
 Keim, Henry M.  
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 Lichtenstadter, Samuel.  
 Lippincott, J. Dundas.  
 Little, Amos R.  
 Lockwood, E. Dunbar.  
 Longstreth, Edward.

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McKean, William V.

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Meehan, Thomas.

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Meredith, William M.

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Miller, Edgar G.

Miller, J. Rulon.

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Mitchell, S. Weir, M.D.

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Munday, Eugene H.

Norris, Isaac.

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Ostheimer, Alfred J.

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Parsons, James.

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Patterson, Joseph.

Pennypacker, Samuel W.

Penrose, Clement B.

Pepper, George S.

Pepper, William, M.D.

Perot, T. Morris.

Pollock, James.

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 Scott, Lewis A.  
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 Shipley, Samuel R.  
 Shippen, Edward.  
 Shortridge, N. Parker.  
 Singerly, William M.  
 Sinnott, Joseph F.  
 Smedley, Samuel L.  
 Smith, Charles.  
 Smith, Charles Emory.  
 Smith, D. Wharton.  
 Smith, Uselma C.  
 Smyth, Lindley.  
 Snowden, A. Louden.  
 Snowden, George R.  
 Sparhawk, John, Jr.  
 Staake, William H.  
 Starr, Louis, M.D.  
 Steel, Edward T.  
 Stillé, Charles J.  
 Stokes, E. D.  
 Stone, Charles W.  
 Stone, Frederick D.  
 Strawbridge, William C.  
 Supplee, J. Wesley.  
 Sutter, Daniel.  
  
 Tatham, William P.  
 Taylor, Lewis H., Jr.  
 Thomas, Charles H., M.D.  
 Thomas, Samuel Hinds.  
 Thomas, William G.  
 Thompson, John J.  
 Thomson, William, M.D.

Tobias, Joseph F.  
 Trotter, Charles W.  
 Tyler, Sidney F.  
  
 Valentine, John K.  
  
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 Weidman, Grant.  
 Wells, Calvin.  
 Welsh, Henry D.  
 Wetherill, John Price.  
 Wheeler, Andrew.  
 Wheeler, Joseph K.  
 Whelen, Edward S.  
 Whelen, Henry, Jr.  
 Williams, Charles.  
 Williams, Edward H.  
 Wilson, Albert Lapsley.  
 Wilson, Ellwood, M.D.  
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 Wood, Alan, Jr.  
 Wood, George.  
 Wood, R. Francis.  
 Wood, Stuart.  
 Wood, Walter.  
  
 Yarnall, Francis C.  
 Yates, David G.  
  
 Ziegler, Henry Z.



*The University of Pennsylvania,  
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The Law Academy of Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania,  
The Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia,*  
unite in requesting the honor of the company of

to a banquet to be given in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, on Saturday, September the 17<sup>th</sup> 1887, at six o'clock, P. M. in commemoration of the framing and signing of the Constitution of the United States.

[FAC-SIMILE OF ENGRAVED INVITATION.]

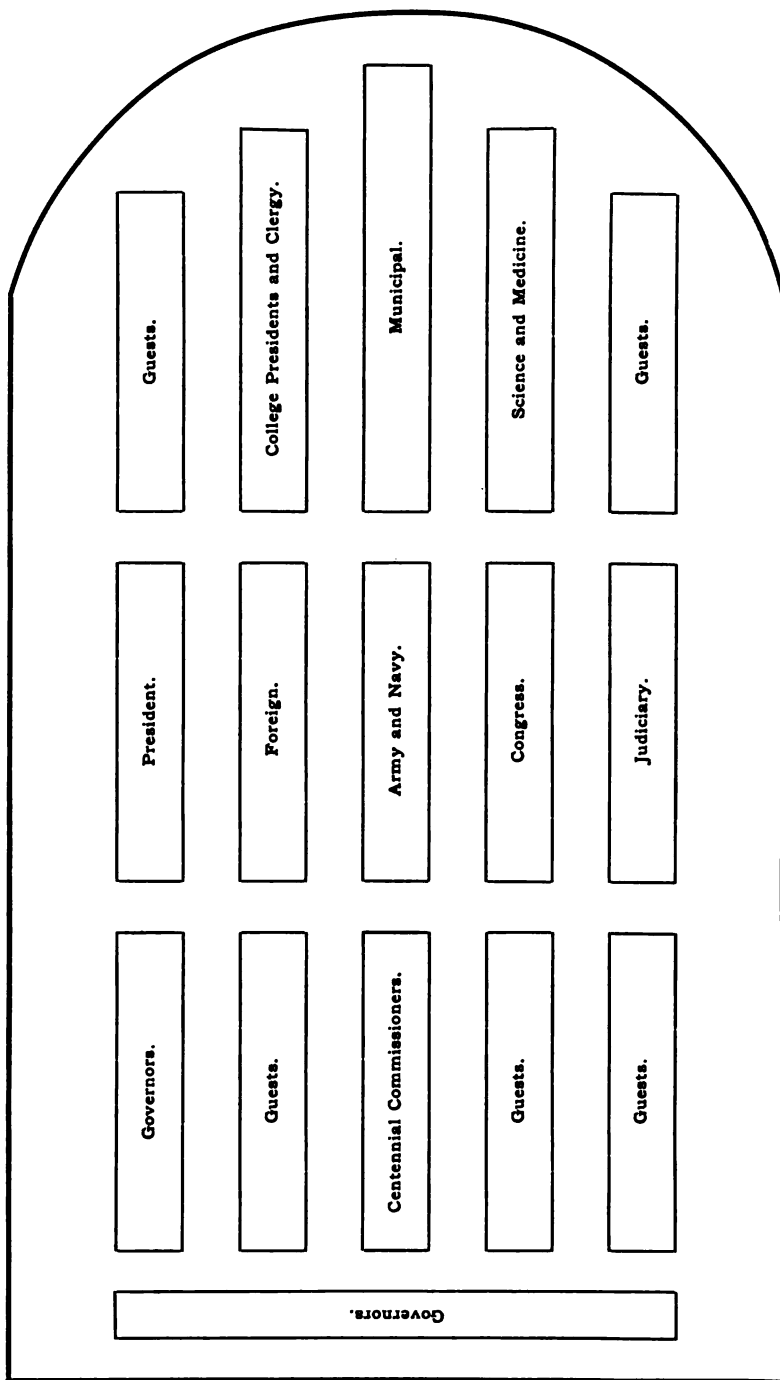
The Academy was tastefully and appropriately decorated. Over the back part of the stage was a large scroll made of flowers bearing the motto of the State of Pennsylvania,—“Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.” Suspended under the middle word was a representation in evergreens of the Liberty Bell. The seats of the parquet circle were hid from view by a thick screen of evergreens, palms, and flowers, reaching to the floor of the balcony above. Upon the stage appeared a forest scene. Tropical plants filled every available space, giving a uniform appearance to the whole surroundings. A carpeted floor one hundred and forty-two feet in length covered the parquet and stage, and on it sixteen tables were arranged as shown in the accompanying plan. An orchestra of forty pieces was placed in the parquet circle. Covers were laid for five hundred guests.

Probably never before had so distinguished a company been assembled at a banquet in America.

The Chairman of the Committee, Provost PEPPER, presided, with President CLEVELAND on his right and Ex-President HAYES on his left. At the same table places were assigned to Secretary BAYARD, GEORGE W. CHILDS, Secretary FAIRCHILD, EDWARD C. KNIGHT, Ex-Vice-President HANNIBAL HAMLIN, JOSEPH PATTERSON, HENRY M. HOYT, FREDERICK FRALEY, JOHN JAY, ALEXANDER BIDDLE, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, WILLIAM S. BAKER, Hon. CARL SCHURZ, and WILLIAM SELLERS.

The *Judiciary Table* was presided over by RICHARD C. McMURTRIE, with Chief-Justice WAITE on his right; the *Congressional Table*, by Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, with Senator INGALLS on his right; the *Army and Navy Table*, by General JOHN F. HARTRANFT, with General SHERIDAN and Rear-Admiral LUCE on his right and left respectively; the *Forcign Table*, by WHARTON BARKER; the *Municipal Table*, by Hon. EDWIN H. FITLER, with Hon. CHARLES J. CHAPMAN, Mayor

LOCUST STREET.



REAR OF STAGE.

BALCONY BOX ☐ MRS. CLEVELAND AND FRIENDS.



of Portland, Maine, on his right; the *Governors' Table*, by Hon. JAMES A. BEAVER, on his right Governor FITZHUGH R. LEE, of Virginia; the *Centennial Commission Table*, by AMOS LITTLE, Esq., on his right Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, President of Centennial Commission.

The menu was printed on six sheets of Holland and India papers ornamented with etched designs emblematic of the occasion and of the objects of the Societies giving the banquet. Impressions from the original plates accompany this description.

While the banquet was in progress a reception was being given to Mrs. CLEVELAND in the Foyer by the ladies of Philadelphia. The committee in charge was composed of—

Mrs. J. DUNDAS LIPPINCOTT.	Mrs. FRANK M. DICK.
Mrs. EDWIN H. FITLER.	Mrs. HENRY WHELEN, JR.
Mrs. CHARLES HENRY HART.	Mrs. CLARENCE H. CLARK.
Mrs. SAMUEL DICKSON.	Mrs. A. LOUDEN SNOWDEN.
Mrs. THOMAS M. THOMPSON.	Mrs. LOUIS STARR.
Mrs. R. L. ASHHURST.	Mrs. WILLIAM PEPPER.
Mrs. GEORGE W. CHILDS.	Mrs. C. H. C. BROCK.
Mrs. J. GRANVILLE LEACH.	Mrs. GEORGE MEADE.
Mrs. GEORGE HARRISON FISHER.	Mrs. CHARLES C. HARRISON.
Mrs. AMOS R. LITTLE.	Mrs. CHARLES H. BANES.
Mrs. E. D. GILLESPIE.	Mrs. WILLIAM SELLERS.
Mrs. MORTON McMICHAEL.	Mrs. HENRY C. GIBSON.
Mrs. GEORGE B. ROBERTS.	

At half-past eight o'clock Mrs. CLEVELAND, accompanied by Mrs. WAITE, wife of the Chief Justice of the United States; Mrs. MILLER, wife of Justice MILLER of the United States Supreme Court; Mrs. General SHERIDAN, Mrs. DANIEL C. LAMONT, and Mrs. J. DUNDAS LIPPINCOTT, entered the balcony box on the south side of the Academy. The doors of the balcony were then thrown open for the entrance of the ladies who had received invitations, and in a few minutes nearly every seat was occupied.





## Proem

The convention of delegates from the thirteen original states, appointed for the purpose of "revising, amending, and altering the Federal Government," met in the State House, at Philadelphia, on the 25th day of May, 1787, and upon the motion of Robert Morris, George Washington was unanimously chosen President of the convention. The deliberations of the body were continued until the 17th day of September, when the delegates "met in Convention and signed the proceedings," which provided for the United States a fundamental law for its governance; after which they dined together at the City Tavern. At the close of a century from that day to appropriately terminate the commemorative services we meet and dine together here.







# Menu.

BLUE POINTS.

*Chateau Yquem.*

GREEN TURTLE.

*Amontillado.*

SALMON, OYSTER CRAB SAUCE.

*Liedbraunmich.*

POTATOES.

CUCUMBERS.

CHICKEN CUTLETS.

*Veuve Cliquot.*

*L. Roederer Grand Vin Sec.*

FILET OF BEEF WITH OLIVES.

*Pommery Sec.*

*Juvenay Sec.*

POTATO CROQUETTES. GREEN PEAS.

*Giesler & Co., Fine Soul.*

MASHED SWEET POTATOES.

*Delbeck.*

SORBET.

TERRAPIN.

*Chateau Lafitte.*

REED BIRDS.

*Clos de Vougeot.*

LETTUCE.

SLICED TOMATOES.

MAYONNAISE AND FRENCH DRESSING.

*Madira, '55.*

ROQUEFORT.

GRUYERE.

GORGONZOLA.

BRIE.

ICES.

FRUITS.

12

COFFEE.

CORDIALS.



*Cognac, 1815.*





## Toasts.

1. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
GROVER CLEVELAND,  
President of the United States.
2. THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY. . . . . STANLEY MATTHEWS,  
Associate Justice Supreme Court, U. S.
3. CONGRESS. . . . . JOHN JAMES INGALLS,  
President of the Senate.
4. THE UNITED STATES OF 1787. . . . . FITZHUGH LEE,  
Governor of Virginia.
5. THE UNITED STATES OF 1887. . . . . CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,  
of Massachusetts.
6. THE ARMY. . . . . PHILIP H. SHERIDAN,  
Lieutenant-General U. S. Army.
7. THE NAVY. . . . . STEPHEN B. LUCE,  
Rear Admiral U. S. Navy.
8. ENGLAND—OUR MOTHER COUNTRY. SIR LYON PLAYFAIR,  
of Great Britain.
9. FRANCE—OUR OLD ALLY. . . . . MARQUIS DE CHAMBRÉS,  
of France.
10. AMERICAN EDUCATION. . . . . ANDREW D. WHITE, of New York.
11. THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION. . . . . JOHN A. KASSON, President.
12. HONOR AND IMMORTALITY TO THE MEMBERS  
OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787.  
HENRY M. HOYT, of Pennsylvania.







## Committee of Arrangements.

WILLIAM PEPPER, M.D.,  
Provost of the University of Pennsylvania,  
*Chairman.*

FREDERICK FRALEY,  
President of the American Philosophical Society.

S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,  
President of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

ISAAC ELWELL,  
President of the Law Academy of Philadelphia.

BRINTON COXE,  
President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

JOSEPH M. WILSON,  
President of the Franklin Institute of the State  
of Pennsylvania.

GEORGE S. PEPPER,  
President of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

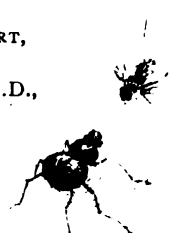
JOSEPH LEIDY, M.D.,  
President of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

CHARLES C. HARRISON,  
SAMUEL DICKSON,  
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,  
CADWALADER BIDDLE,  
WILLIAM A. INGHAM,  
JOHN ASHHURST, JR., M.D.,  
RICHARD A. CLEEMANN, M.D.,  
J. GRANVILLE LEACH,  
RICHARD C. MCMURTRIE,  
WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE,

WHARTON BARKER,  
*Treasurer.*

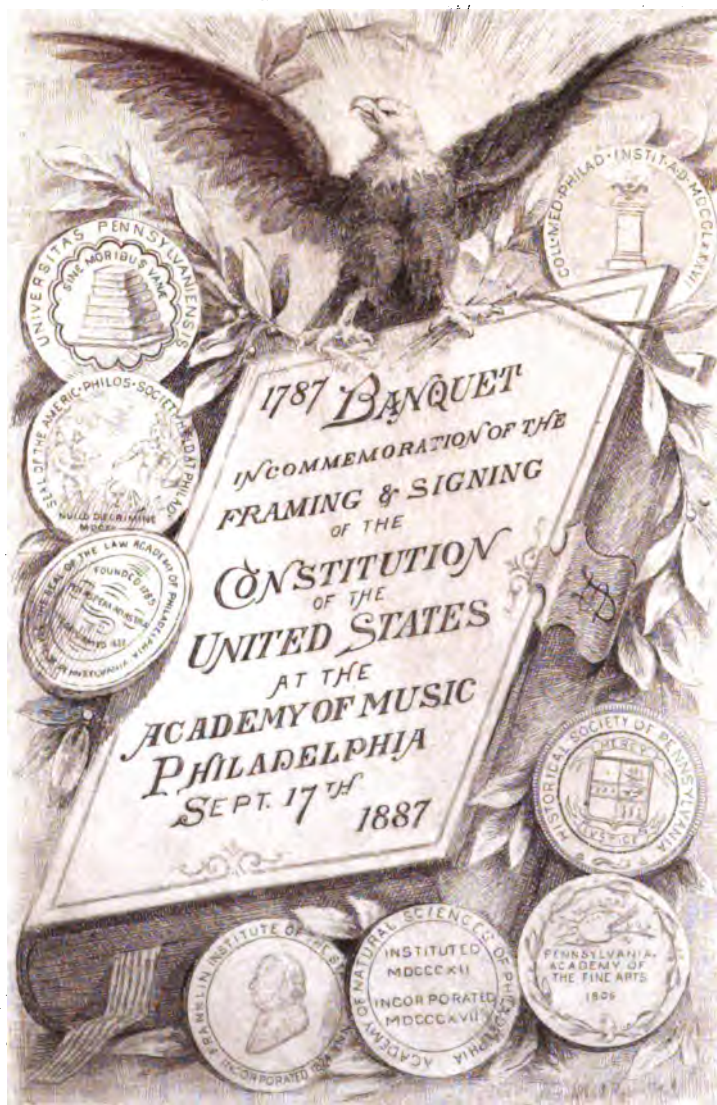
GEORGE DEB. KEIM,  
EDWIN T. EISENBREY,  
WILLIAM SELLERS,  
WILLIAM P. TATHAM,  
CHARLES HENRY HART,  
HENRY WHELEN, JR.,  
JOHN H. PACKARD, M.D.,  
THOMAS MEEHAN,  
JACOB BINDER,  
THEODORE D. RAND,

FRED. D. STONE,  
*Secretary.*









## TOASTS AND SPEECHES.

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At nine o'clock Provost PEPPER arose and said,—

“In Washington's Diary, as quoted in the Pennsylvania Magazine, the following entry occurs for Monday, September 17, 1787: ‘Met in convention when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of eleven States and of Colonel Hamilton, of New York, the only delegate from thence in Convention, and was subscribed to by every member present except Governor Randolph and Colonel Mason from Virginia, and Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts. The business being thus closed, the members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other. After which I returned to my lodgings, did some business and received the papers from the Secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed.’

“There is nothing but this scant record of that meeting, but of the men who sat around the table in the old tavern in that old-time Philadelphia with her forty thousand people, there is much written on the pages of history; and of the work which they had that day completed we are assembled, after the lapse of a century, to testify that, judged by its marvellous results, by the loyal and unanimous approval of America's sixty million citizens, and equally by the opinion of the wisest of other lands, it was the most remarkable work produced by the human intellect, at a single stroke, so to speak, in its application to political affairs.

“We have heard this morning a memorable account of that great document, the Constitution of the United States, from the lips of one whose place is with the very foremost of its

expounders and supporters. Created by an overruling spirit of wisdom from the mutual antagonisms of conflicting interests, it has maintained an equilibrium among the mighty bodies and forces subject to it, like that of the solar system, whose countless members pursue their allotted courses, orb within orb, under the all-pervading power of gravitation. Many of the ceremonies which one hundred years ago formed part of the celebration of the success of the Federal Convention of 1787 have been reproduced at this time. But it is not merely in imitation of the dinner to which I have alluded that a number of the literary and scientific bodies of Philadelphia have united in extending the invitation which has been so courteously accepted.

“In the name of these societies, the organization and constitutions of a number of which antedate our national existence, I extend to you all, representatives of all departments of our national and local governments, of our own and of the sister States in this Union, and of the greater sisterhood of foreign Nations, with all of whom, thank God, our relations are and bid fair ever to be friendly and cordial,—to you all I extend a hearty greeting.

“It was much to have secured for a nation, liberty,—personal, political, religious. This it is which forms the essential basis of all that renders life most precious. But scarcely less remarkable than the statesmanship and political foresight of the men who founded this Government, was their appreciation of the fact that for national progress and development, for stability of government, and, most of all, for human happiness, there must be not only universal liberty but universal education, and the largest encouragement of letters, arts, and science.

“True as this was of the leading men of other States and cities, it was pre-eminently true of those of Pennsylvania and of Philadelphia, and I should fail in my loyal duty were I to

omit mention of what resulted from labors of such men as Rush and Morgan and Cadwalader and Biddle and Shippen and Clymer and Morris and, above all, of Franklin. I know that our friends in Massachusetts claim Franklin as an illustrious Bostonian who passed a few years of his later life in Philadelphia. At least they were fruitful years; and those of us who doubt at times whether the individual counts for much in this crowded life may take heart on seeing what this one man did. Time does not now permit even a bare allusion to all the institutions he organized, among them to the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded in 1731, the first public library in America; to the Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1755, the oldest on this continent.

“Of those societies which have the honor of being your hosts this evening, the University of Pennsylvania, founded in 1749, fifth of American colleges in order of seniority, looks to him as its founder; the American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, by far the earliest of its kind in this country, was organized by him in 1743, and was the direct outgrowth of the Junto, a less formal society started by him in 1727; and the Franklin Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts was organized in 1824 by men thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Franklin, and by them was named in honor of the great philosopher. It may truly be added, that by its long career of constantly enlarging usefulness, and by the powerful encouragement it has given to scientific education and to the mechanic arts, it has indeed reflected honor upon him whose name it bears.

“Of the record of the work done by the American Philosophical Society during the first century of its existence, its distinguished librarian, Professor Lesley, well says, ‘It is not so much the record of the growth of an American society as a record of the growth of society in America.’ The potent



ideas which make their first appearance in those pages; the first steps in far-reaching scientific paths there shown; the distinguished names from all sections which adorn it, indicate clearly the powerful and pervasive influence exerted by this venerable society, which to-day, as at all times, numbers among its members the leading men in American and European science and letters.

"In all communities where artificial conditions do not interfere, a prominent part is played in public and in social life by members of the medical and legal professions. America has been no exception to this rule, and nowhere in America has the organization of these professions been so good and their influence so potent as in Philadelphia.

"In the early part of this year was celebrated fitly the centennial anniversary of the College of Physicians of this city, the oldest medical society in America, except the State medical organizations of New Jersey and Massachusetts. Housed in a building comporting with her dignity, richly endowed with funds, and with collections surpassed only by those of our Government, and, above all, with the traditions of a century of duty faithfully done, of the highest standard of private and public professional work steadily maintained, and of a hundred years without one break in the meetings for scientific work save when pestilence thrust upon her members a more imperative service, this venerable society holds up before the medical world of to-day the example of her founders for gratitude and emulation.

"I know that not a few of those whom I have the honor of welcoming this evening were yesterday the guests of the Bar Association; and I am assured that this interesting occasion was not allowed to pass without an eloquent account of the elder sister society, the Law Academy; for whether we assume 1783, the date of the earliest steps in the direction of this

organization, or 1823, the year of actual incorporation, as its starting-point, it may fairly be claimed to have exerted throughout these long years a constant and powerful influence upon the improvement of legal education, and upon the maintenance of that lofty standard of professional feeling and conduct which is the just pride of our bar.

“Has not already enough been said to establish the fact that, under our democratic form of government, institutions of the most varied kinds may develop and thrive as vigorously as though fostered by royalty’s most lavish favor? Nay, will not one who looks over the length and breadth of this land and notes the growing strength and numbers of these institutions, with their magnificent endowment and equipment, be led to conclude that a consciousness that such foundations are needful for the stability as well as for the grace of the social fabric in this country is rapidly developing the deliberate purpose, among those intrusted with large wealth, of devoting much of it to such enduring monuments? Here in this city stand the Academy of Natural Sciences, founded in 1812, within whose walls are garnered the constantly increasing and well-nigh priceless collections from all quarters of the globe; and the Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1805, the first art academy in America, whose vigorous work, with that of her sister academies, is rapidly developing a genuine school of American art. For, if true art requires for its growth an impressionable and imaginative race, with an heroic and picturesque history, in contact with an environment of natural beauty marvellous in variety and perfection, and under the influence of lofty ideals of personal and national duty, it were strange if in the glorious Augustan age on which America is entering there should not develop a school of art whose splendor shall outshine the lustre of our more material achievements.

“Even now our active workers are gathering in the records

of the early life of this country. Within the stately rooms of our own Historical Society, founded in 1824, where, under the influence of the new quickening and reviving of all intellectual movements, there is marvellous activity in collection and research, are rapidly accumulating the materials for many a thrilling romance or moving ballad or impassioned canvas. Nor is it the least important feature of this grand growth that, although originating independently yet from a common thought, these various institutions, both here and elsewhere, are working in concert for the higher education of the people, and are lending their powerful aid towards the extension of the scope and influence of our great university system. The American university is the university of the people, not of a class. There is no fear of too much nor of too high education in this country. He who pursues the humblest calling will pursue it the more contentedly because he has some sources of consolation within himself. And to all with the natural ability and with the energy to use it must the road be open, clear and straight, to the highest education, which being sound and thorough will develop all that is good and great in each, and will fit him for the highest usefulness and success.

"I stand here by the accident of my official relation to the University of Pennsylvania, and it were impossible to mention the name of this institution without testifying again to the wisdom and the devotion and the self-sacrifice of those who founded her, and of those who through nearly a century and a half have labored to promote her welfare, until she stands to-day the intellectual centre of this vast community, beloved and honored on account of her earnest labors in the cause of truth and sound learning, served gladly and zealously by the wise and learned in all her departments, and supported by the generous devotion of thousands of her children who in all

lands on which the sun shines are holding her in loving remembrance for the happiness and the help she gave them.

"It is by such hosts, Mr. President and gentlemen who are now the honored guests of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania, that you are welcomed here to-night. And if in this one city, illustrious though it be, there stands such an array of organized powers co-operating as willing servants with the vast spiritual forces of our American churches, and with the great silent influence of our Constitution and our political institutions, for the diffusion of truth and the elevation of society, surely we must, when we recall that in every centre and every corner of this continent there are similar agencies at work, look forward with confidence to the future.

"Can earth hold in store for any man greater honor than to be called—the elect of such a nation—to the post of highest authority over it? Of the dignity of this office, of the tremendous power and responsibility devolving on him who assumes it, it were impossible for me to speak adequately. And equally so were it to depict the dignified yet reverent homage which is paid by this vast people to their uncrowned king,—when seen to wear the purple robe of authority unstained by partisan or personal purpose. But we are honored to-night by the presence of him who now, and with not unequal strength, holds this lofty place, and it is from the President of the United States that we beg to hear in response to the toast to his high office."

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

"On such a day as this," responded President CLEVELAND, "and in the atmosphere that now surrounds him, I feel that the President of the United States should be thoughtfully modest and humble. The great office he occupies stands to-day in the presence of its maker; and it is especially fitting for this servant

of the people and creature of the Constitution, amid the impressive scenes of this centennial occasion, by a rigid self-examination, to be assured concerning his loyalty and obedience to the law of his existence. He will find that the rules prescribed for his guidance require for the performance of his duty, not the intellect or attainments which would raise him far above the feeling and sentiment of the plain people of the land, but rather such a knowledge of their condition and sympathy with their wants and needs as will bring him near to them. [Applause.] And though he may be almost appalled by the weight of his responsibility and the solemnity of his situation, he cannot fail to find comfort and encouragement in the success the fathers of the Constitution wrought from their simple patriotic devotion to the rights and interests of the people. Surely he may hope that, if reverently invoked, the spirit which gave the Constitution life will be sufficient for its successful operation and the accomplishment of its beneficent purposes.

“Because they are brought nearest to the events and scenes which marked the birth of American institutions, the people of Philadelphia should of all our citizens be most imbued with sentiments of the broadest patriotism. The first Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention met here, and Philadelphia still has in her keeping Carpenters’ Hall, Independence Hall and its bell, and the grave of Franklin.

“As I look about me and see here represented the societies that express so largely the culture of Philadelphia, its love of art, its devotion to science, its regard for the broadest knowledge, and its studious care for historical research,—societies some of which antedate the Constitution,—I feel that I am in a notable company. To you is given the duty of preserving and protecting for your city, for all your fellow-countrymen, and for mankind, the traditions and the incidents related to the

establishment of the freest and best government ever vouchsafed to man. [Applause.] It is a sacred trust; and as time leads our government further and further from the date of its birth, may you solemnly remember that a nation exacts of you that these traditions and incidents shall never be tarnished nor neglected; but that, brightly burnished, they may always be held aloft, fastening the gaze of a patriotic people and keeping alive their love and reverence for the Constitution." [Long and continued applause.]

In proposing the next toast, "TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY," Dr. PEPPER said,—

"While the eloquent and forcible words of the distinguished orator of to-day are still ringing in our ears, and while we retain fresh and unimpaired the impression of the splendid demonstration he gave us of the powers and virtues of the Constitution of the United States, it is fitting that we should pay our tribute of respect to that body of men to whom in an especial sense is intrusted the interpretation, the custody, and the maintenance of that immortal document. I am tempted to quote from a well-known speech made in 1805 by Joseph Hopkinson, a member and a Vice-Provost of our Law Academy, in defence of a justice of the Supreme Court on his impeachment before the Senate of the United States. In glowing sentences, which have often been repeated, he enforces the supreme necessity of a pure and upright judiciary, and adds, 'If I am called upon to declare whether the independence of judges were more essentially important in a monarchy or a republic, I should say in the latter. . . . If you have read of the death of Seneca, under the ferocity of a Nero, you have read, too, of the murder of Socrates, under the delusions of a republic. An independent and firm judiciary, protected and protecting by the laws, would have snatched the one from the

fury of a despot, and preserved the other from the madness of a people.'

"Have we not seen the immortal Marshall, while the majesty of law seemed heightened by the simple grandeur of his character, hold with true and level hand the balance, though in one scale there was but a wretched life, and in the other the fury and hatred of a nation? Have we not seen the august body of our highest court plant itself upon the side of truth and right in momentous issues, and still the raging of the people by its inflexible and incorruptible strength?

"It is with deep veneration, therefore, that I propose to you the toast of the 'FEDERAL JUDICIARY,' whether of the Supreme or Circuit Courts, illustrious for learning, integrity, and independence, and call upon Mr. Justice Matthews, of the Supreme Court of the United States, to respond."

Justice MATTHEWS said,—

"The display of national power and prosperity witnessed by the three days now fitly closing; the consciousness of the strength and fulness of our national life, now swelling in the hearts of so many millions of freemen, citizens of the United States, attest the wise frame of our civil and political institutions. A retrospect of a hundred years enables the present generation to judge how far the work of our fathers has fulfilled its hope and promise. The organization, function, and development of the judicial power of the United States under the Federal Constitution, as concerned in the growth of our national life, is the subject presented to you by the sentiment to which I respond.

"A judicial establishment was essential to the idea of a government as distinguished from a league or confederacy. A judicial establishment co-ordinate with and independent of the legislative and executive departments was essential to the idea

of a government intended to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty. For the very definition of despotism is the concentration of power in a single will.

“It was necessary that two other constituents should enter into its organization. The Government of the United States was to be autonomous, self-maintaining, self-sufficient, and independent of the separate governments of the several States, to which, however, and to the people of the States, was reserved all powers not delegated, either expressly or by reasonable implication, to the Government of the United States. Hence it was declared by the Constitution that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State (limited by the Eleventh Amendment to cases where the State is the plaintiff), between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

“It was further necessary that within the whole area of this jurisdiction the judicial power of the United States should be final, and, in the last resort, exclusive. It was therefore declared by the Constitution that ‘This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.’



“Thus was cast upon the Federal Judiciary the burden and the duty, in the due course of judicial determination between litigant parties, of enforcing the supreme law of the land, even though it became essential, in doing so, to declare void acts of Congress and of the legislatures of the States. This is the logical necessity of liberty secured by written constitutions of government unalterable by ordinary acts of legislation. If the prohibitions and limitation of the charters of government cannot be enforced in favor of individual rights, by the judgments of the judicial tribunals, then there are and can be no barriers against the exactions and despotism of arbitrary power; then there is and can be no guarantee or security for the rights of life, liberty, or property; then everything we hold to be dear and sacred as personal right is at the mercy of a monarch or a mob.

“This function, it will be observed, is judicial as distinguished from political. The judicial power does not act as critic or censor of the legislative or executive departments of either the State governments or of the Government of the United States. It adjudges only between parties within its jurisdiction by process of law, and what it declares or determines as to the validity of the acts of other departments of government is collateral and incidental only. It nevertheless binds and obliges the parties to the judgment and furnishes a precedent for subsequent decisions in like cases. And as the Constitution of the United States is the Constitution and supreme law of each State, so the courts and judges of the United States are the courts and judges of each State in and for which they may be sitting to hold pleas; they are not and ought not to be regarded as aliens and strangers, administering a foreign and hostile jurisprudence. The law they declare and administer in every case within their jurisdiction is as much the domestic law of the State in which it is applied as

though it derived its authority solely from State legislation and was adjudged by State tribunals. It is not a patriotic part to encourage the feeling or inculcate the opinion that the exercise of a jurisdiction under the laws of the Union is an invasion of the sphere of local government, or to diminish the respect due to lawful authority by the prejudice or jealousy of local pride. [Applause.]

“Although the Federal Judiciary are invested with no political power, nevertheless the exercise of judicial power has necessarily resulted in important political consequences. In the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, and of the acts of Congress, and of the executive departments, and of the legislation of the States, while prescribing rules for the regulation of private conduct, the courts have also necessarily fixed the lines of public law along and within which official action must move so as to be effective. The Federal Judiciary, therefore, has been a prime factor in the political education of the people by practical exhibition of their political institutions in actual legal operation upon their affairs, and affecting in the most important particulars their interests and their rights. The plan and system of their double government has been taught in a series of impressive object-lessons, establishing the doctrine, in the language of a late chief justice, of an indestructible Union of indestructible States, and vindicating the confidence of every individual in the protection afforded by the law of the land against arbitrary power of government, whether State or national, seeking to deprive him of life, liberty, or property.

“With what success the Courts of the United States have fulfilled the purposes of the Constitution is recorded in the annals of the century which closes to-night. It is to be found in the history of the great controversies which they have settled to the public satisfaction, and in the roll of great names

made famous by the part those who bore them have taken in their decision. They are too many to be enumerated here now. Suffice it to say that the judgments in which that history is contained form a body of jurisprudence, which for originality and scientific accuracy and beauty distinguishes American constitutional and public law among all the codes and systems of civilized states, while no name of higher rank has been given to the jurisprudence of the world than that of John Marshall. [Applause.]

“How it may be in the future the future must be left to tell. If the judges of to-day, and those who shall come after them in the new century on whose threshold we now stand, prove not to be so greatly endowed as those who have preceded them in those days when there were giants, nevertheless their task will be easier. The foundations have been laid well and strong and deep. The plan of the building and its lines are already fixed and plain. It is our part, and the part of those who come after, to build on this foundation according to this plan and within these lines. We have but to follow where others have led and pursue the ancient ways.

“Mistakes doubtless will be made. Errors cannot always be avoided. But fortunately they are not irremediable even when committed by judicial tribunals of last resort. There is after all always a remaining appeal. For it is only what is just and right and true that will abide. The judgments of the Supreme Court are constantly reviewed by itself after further enlightenment, and are subject always to the ultimate consensus of professional public opinion which sooner or later takes away the authority of every bad precedent. The law, as embodied in judicial decision, is a progressive and not a fixed science. It takes part in the general social growth and keeps even step with the march of improvement in every department of life.

"It thus vindicates its divine origin and quality by meeting and providing for every human need." [Applause.]

Dr. PEPPER then proposed the next toast in the following words :

"In proposing the next toast,—to the legislative branch of our Government,—I may well leave to the honorable and eloquent senator who will reply all allusion to the functions, powers, and privileges of this enviable body. Truly our forefathers builded even better than they knew in devising our unique system of representation. Examples in abundance they had before them of leagues and confederations. But at the touch of time and practical experience they had all fallen asunder. Never had this supreme problem of statesmanship—the mode of securing the permanent union of many separate and independent States of unequal power—been solved until the Federal Convention of 1787 devised the American plan by which the strong is strengthened, but its power of aggression is curbed, while the weak is made strong to maintain its equal rights. The final proof of the success of this plan is that despite changes and vicissitudes, greater than have befallen any nation known to history in an equal period, our Constitution stands practically unchanged, with but sixteen amendments in one hundred years.

"Point me to a single system of government, unless we go so far off as Russia or as China, in which it can be said that more serious and radical changes have not been made during the past century than have been found necessary in what must have seemed a wild and utopian scheme. For its share in this grand result too much praise cannot be awarded to Congress for the self-controlled and law-abiding manner in which have been discharged its mighty functions. So that while few of us seem to doubt our ability to become, on short notice, com-

petent members of that august body, yet all will unite in a hearty recognition of the high standard of efficiency and practical wisdom maintained by it, and in approving the toast of 'THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,' to which I shall beg the Hon. J. J. INGALLS, of Kansas, the President of the Senate, to respond."

Mr. INGALLS said,—

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETIES:—I rise to respond to this sentiment with serious and unaffected embarrassment, from the fact that the honorable Provost of the University in his invitation informed me that, in consequence of the great number of speakers and the length of the programme, my reply should be limited to eight or ten minutes. [Laughter.] Those who are familiar—as I presume most of you are—with the somewhat prolix and loquacious verbosity of the debates in Congress will appreciate the difficulty under which I labor [Laughter] on account of this restriction and limitation.

"And I may say further, at the outset, that I should fail in the discharge of my duty to that great body of which you have designated me as the representative, were I not to call the attention of the learned and distinguished societies of which we are the guests to the fact that the first article of the Constitution defines the powers and duties of Congress. The second article describes the prerogatives of the Executive, and the third the functions of the Judiciary. Our hosts in the order of precedence have declared that the first shall be last. [Laughter and applause.] I protest against this violation of the great charter of our liberties, and serve notice upon the Committee of Arrangements that, should I be present at the next Centennial, I shall insist upon reversal of this order, and demand for Congress its constitutional priority in the festivities

of the day. But for the next century I waive the question of etiquette. [Laughter.]

"I cannot suffer this fortunate occasion to pass without an expression of my pride and gratification at the unique and unapproachable completeness and perfection of the ceremonies of which this splendid hour is the fitting crown and close. There has been no defect in design or detail. Even the heavens have seemed to smile upon the patriotic undertaking, and earth and sky have conspired with man to make the occasion auspicious and memorable among the events of the century. Every guest will depart with a deeper sense of the superb hospitality of Philadelphia,—already proverbial,—and with a profounder appreciation of the glory and strength and grandeur of the Republic of which we are all proud to claim that we are citizens. [Applause.]

"Sir, the proceedings we have witnessed in commemoration of the first centennial of the Constitution have not been merely a painted pageant or dramatic spectacle. Far more than that. Though the pomp and splendor of the stately procession have charmed the senses with music and color, with rhythmic movement and picturesque tableaux, contrasting the present and the past, beneath it all has appeared a profound intellectual conception of the history and destiny of the Republic; of the ideas which are the basis and foundation of civil liberty and constitutional government; a conception wrought out with singular strength and effectiveness, which reflect great honor upon those who have been charged with the accomplishment of this great design. What might have degenerated into a mercenary advertisement or an empty and senseless parade has been a majestic and instructive lesson of history, an inspiring and irresistible prophecy of our coming destiny.

"We could not fail to learn, from the demonstration of the results of our experiment in popular government, that the Con-

stitution was made for the people and not the people for the Constitution ; and that there is no rigid and fixed formula that can be applied to the changing processes of the daily life of a nation. [Applause.] Much as I revere the Constitution and the wisdom of the great men who framed it, I feel that there is something more sacred than charters, more venerable than the Constitution, and that is the rights and prerogatives of the people which it was ordained to establish and maintain.

“The Constitution of 1787, under the constructions of Congress and the decisions of the courts, is widely different from the Constitution of 1887. It is perhaps not too much to say that we could not have survived the first century of our existence under a strict application of the written letter of the Constitution. Its most remarkable feature is its elastic flexibility and its latent power through which it has been enabled to conform to the necessities, the passions, and the aspirations of the people.

“Without entering into the domain of politics, I doubt whether the Constitution contains any definite affirmative declaration of the power of Congress to enact a protective tariff. But the great lesson of the display on Thursday was that the people of the United States have determined to achieve for themselves, and those who come after them, absolute industrial independence. [Applause.] They have resolved that they will make for themselves whatever they eat or drink and use and wear, building up and fortifying the nation with intelligent and loyal wage-workers, whose compensation shall be ample and adequate to secure for themselves and their families the blessings of education and the opportunities for happiness.

“I am not sure that the Constitution has delegated to Congress the power to acquire and annex territory or to enlarge the boundaries of the Republic ; but in addition to the deter-

mination to secure industrial independence has been that kindred and companion passion for continental unity. [Applause.]

"And therefore, although the Constitution was silent, the people purchased Louisiana, admitted Texas, and have extended, through the diplomacy of the predecessors of my distinguished friend from New York, who sits near me, our boundaries to the Northwest so far that while the light of the morning sun gilds the rocky headlands of Maine its parting rays still linger upon the snowy summits of the mountains of Alaska. And this peaceful conquest will proceed; this purpose will prevail. I doubt not that when the next centennial of the Constitution is celebrated, in this place and at this anniversary, it will be celebrated by the representatives of a mighty, indissoluble, continental republic, whose shores will extend from the waters of the frozen zone to the warm waves of the tropic sea.

"The next century will witness a growth in glory, wealth, and prosperity in this Republic which the imagination cannot conceive, and to which the annals of nations afford no precedent or parallel. Perils there may be without and dangers within, but the rolling drums and the martial tread of the armed hosts that yesterday saluted the flag are an assurance of the determination of the people to make this a government of laws and not of men, and against Anarchist or Nihilist or foreign foe to preserve unimpaired those sacred objects for which the Constitution was ordained,—union, justice, tranquillity, liberty for ourselves and for our posterity." [Loud and continued applause.]

"When we try to picture to ourselves," said Dr. PEPPER, "the sessions of the Federal Convention of 1787, as the long and doubtful debates wore on, a few men and a few groups of men stand out conspicuously clear. Though it might seem



invidious to discriminate, yet surely none can doubt that the foremost place should be given to that State which was the first to appoint delegates, whose representatives were the earliest to suggest and the most strenuous to support the plan adopted finally, and, above all, which sent to the Convention the man who, more than all others, commanded the confidence and the attachment of the people,—the immortal Washington. It is peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that in proposing the next toast, 'TO THE UNITED STATES OF 1787,' I should call upon the Hon. FITZHUGH LEE, Governor of Virginia, for a response on behalf of the original thirteen States, who own the proud heritage of those early struggles."

Hon. FITZHUGH LEE said,—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN:—In selecting a speaker to respond to the toast just read, I recognize a compliment to the great commonwealth of Virginia, tendered not only for the prominent part she took in the events we celebrate, but also because she furnished one of her citizens to be the president of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution. [Applause.] Oh, if the eyes of the great Washington, looking from everlasting realms, could rest upon this scene, or could his vision, sweeping infinity, cross the crystal seas whose waters wash eternal shores, and behold this great celebration in this historic city, he would indeed rejoice that the architects of the Constitution had erected an edifice which had not only withstood the sunshine of peace, but the rude blasts of war; and to-day is stronger, greater, and grander—ay, more assured of perpetuity—than at any hour of its existence. [Great cheering.]

"The common sufferings of thirteen British colonies were transferred into the common glory of thirteen American States when, on the 4th of July, 1776, the declaration of their in-

dependence was passed. Previous to that, however, good old Benjamin Franklin had sketched the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the States; and the year after the declaration of independence, in 1777, Congress passed these Articles of Confederation. Weak from the beginning, it nevertheless represented the federal power for nearly twelve years. Then a change came. Anarchy crept into the federal system. It was found that the federal power was not great enough in some respects. The ship of the republic flying the flag of the confederation was sinking. It would have to be brought back to the shore for repairs lest it go down, and in going down bury in the boundless sea the experiment of a free government founded upon human liberty.

“The crisis was at hand. It was now an impending catastrophe. The hour for its dissolution had almost arrived, and Old England’s lap was being prepared for her truant colonies again. The man, oh, where was he? the patriot who could come forward and rescue his country and save the union of the States? And now, may I be pardoned if I say that old Virginia, who had cast into the common lot the sword of a Washington, the pen of a Jefferson, and the eloquence of a Henry, who, with more than Demosthenic power, kept burning so brightly the fires of the Revolution, was equal to this emergency, and produced a James Madison? [Applause.]

“This citizen, seeing the impending danger, offered for the legislature of his county, was elected, and it was due to his efforts that Virginia passed the resolution requesting the meeting of delegates from the States to be held at Annapolis. But four States responded. New York was there, Delaware was there, New Jersey was there, Pennsylvania was there. [Applause.] And these representatives, owing largely to the efforts of Madison, there passed the resolutions, drawn up by Alexander Hamilton, requesting the legislatures of the States

to send deputies from all the States to meet in this city of Philadelphia. And so the Constitutional Convention was born, So the framers met here on the 25th of May, 1787.

“ But what a time that was when big-hearted Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, arose and nominated for the president of that convention George Washington, Esq., late commander-in-chief of the colonial forces and a deputy from Virginia! [Applause.] It came with peculiar grace, we are told, from the Pennsylvania delegation because she had in her delegation the only member that could possibly be a competitor with Washington for **that** position. Dr. Franklin, the gentleman to whom I refer, intended to place Washington in nomination himself, but the state of the weather and his own health prevented him from being present. Under these auspices this convention met, and for four months they labored to perfect a scheme for human government. Oh, my friends, what an anxious period that was. We have seen divisions charging the fiery heights, while both armies waited and wondered. And we have read of the charge of the six hundred at Balaklava, while both sides stood trembling and looking on. But here these patriots were engaged in their work, and the whole world wondered whether they would succeed. Think of it! Forty-nine delegates were present making a form of government for four millions of people. Here were great mountains, whose swelling sides hid the wealth of centuries underneath; here were broad rivers, whose currents were inviting the sails of commerce; here were huge forests, whose trees were waving for the saw; here were cities—great cities—waiting for the magic touch of the workman; here were waters waiting idle for the wheel of the manufacturer. Ay, these patriots were equal to their task, and they produced what Mr. Gladstone but yesterday again repeated as the greatest work yet struck off with a single stroke of the brain and purpose of man. There were, however,

gentlemen, two disturbing influences left unsettled. It is hard at this hour to imagine how those patriotic framers of the Constitution could have settled them then and there. They were left. I refer to the slavery question, and to that question of the right of the withdrawal of a State from the Union they were then forming. Brilliant, bright John Randolph, who was a boy when he witnessed the inauguration of Washington, said: 'I see what but two other men in the country see. I see the poison under the wing of the American eagle, now being plumed for his flight, and it should be extracted lest it shed pestilence and death over the country whose destiny it is to protect.' This disturbing influence, I say, was left. But the sword, I have reason to know, stepped in from 1861 to 1865 and destroyed the disturbing influences, and the poison has dropped from under the wing of the eagle. [Great applause.]

"What then, gentlemen, is to prevent this great country from going on and fulfilling its destiny? The strings of the patriotic hearts of the founders of the Republic were touched by the hand of compromise and mutual concession, and fraternal music floated over the land. And so, if we, the men of 1887, should be guided by the examples of moderation and concession and compromise of the men of 1787, in 1987 the celebration, to which my learned friend from Kansas has referred, will take place. And I pray to God that every footstep in the life of the Republic from this period to that may be marked by blessed peace, union, fraternity, progress, and prosperity. [Applause.] We are told that behind the chair of President Washington, when he presided over the convention, was the representation of a sun near the horizon; and good old Dr. Franklin said, as he sat there, that he had always understood it was difficult for the painter to so paint the sun close to the horizon so as to tell whether the sun was rising or setting. 'But,' said he, 'after the Constitution had been passed and the

last members were signing, I looked at the sun behind President Washington, and I saw for the first time that it was a rising sun.' Oh, Dr. Franklin, it was indeed a rising sun! It has been obscured temporarily since, but now it is shining in all the splendor of an unclouded majesty, bearing peace and happiness into the hearts and homes of sixty millions of people." [Long-continued applause and cheers.]

"You have heard," said Dr. PEPPER, "one of the many anecdotes of Franklin in connection with the Federal Convention, and I am reminded of the quaint use he makes of an observation that some flies apparently drowned in a bottle of Madeira were revived by exposure to the rays of the sun. 'I wish it were possible,' said he, 'from this instance, to invent a method of embalming drowned persons in such a manner that they may be recalled to life at any period, however distant; for, having a very ardent desire to see and observe the state of America a hundred years hence, I should prefer to any ordinary death the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine with a few friends till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country.' With the glorious vision to which he would awake, of sixty millions of people, happy, prosperous, and united, we are too familiar to be mindful of its real significance. Certainly, had he stood with us this morning while in the clear air there rang out that fine refrain—

'While the stars in heaven shall burn,  
While the ocean tides return,  
Ever shall the circling sun  
Find the many still are one'—

he would have gratefully recognized the completion of his old prophecy in the glowing words of our centennial poet.

"Our triumphs of this past century have not been wholly

material ones, but moral and political and intellectual and artistic as well. And he who is to respond to the toast of 'THE UNITED STATES OF 1887' must keep touch at many points with this new world. Difficult as the task, you will agree it is assigned to most worthy hands when I call on Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Massachusetts, for a response."

"You have called upon me, Mr. Chairman," responded Mr. ADAMS, "to say a word for the present, as contradistinguished from the past; the year that now is, is set face to face with the year a century gone. I must seek to compress the significance of an hundred years into a sentence. Looking back over that century,—gathering up in one confused glance all the revolutions, material, intellectual, and political, which have been crowded into it (for from 1789 to the day that now is it has been replete with revolutions),—gathering all this in, I say, at a glance, at first it does not seem that any written form of government possible to be devised by man could contain within itself the elements of strength, vitality, and elasticity to enable it to meet successfully the trials to which our national Constitution has perforce been subjected.

"During that century—almost wholly during it—man has obtained his scientific mastery over material forces. When the Convention of 1787 met in this city, those composing it came hither on the back of the wind or the back of the horse, neither so rapidly nor so conveniently as the conclaves of the Church had gathered at Rome through a thousand years. Franklin had indeed half a century before, and within the limits of this city, drawn down the lightning from heaven; but another half century was to elapse before it was to be rendered docile and subjected to the uses of man. This has been the era of the steam-engine and the telegraph; and in presence

of powers like these, men, and constitutions made by man, become like playthings of an hour.

“Consider for an instant the influence these material forces have had on the development of that which the Constitution of the United States was intended to control. Strange as it may sound, I do not hesitate to say that these forces of steam and electricity have within the century not only saved the Constitution, making its perpetuity possible, but they have actually made the wrong construction of it the right construction, and the right construction wrong.

“But let me explain. From the very beginning there have been two views of the Constitution,—the liberal view and the strict view. In the first cabinet of Washington, Hamilton represented one side of the great debate which has gone on from that day to this, and Jefferson the other. Both parties to this debate have, I submit, been for a part of the time right; both have been for a part of the time wrong. The unexpected occurred: steam and electricity have in these days converted each thoughtful Hamiltonian into a believer in the construction theories of Jefferson; while, none the less, events have at the same time conclusively shown that in his own day Jefferson was wrong and Hamilton was right.

“This, as Hamlet says, ‘was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof;’ in other words, an equally thoughtful and observant man, looking before and after, understanding the physical conditions of his country, and desirous only of its good,—such a man, in the light of all subsequent events, could not but have felt that a strong central government—such a government as could only be secured through a liberal construction of the Constitution—was for the United States of the time anterior to 1830 a political necessity. Without it the country must fall to pieces. So Hamilton was right and Jefferson was wrong. Then the railroad and the telegraph came

upon the stage, and under the new conditions they created and imposed the shield was reversed,—Jefferson became right and Hamilton wrong.

“Why, consider for a moment the kaleidoscopic changes of the problem. During the first half of its constitutional century, the United States was a vast and sparsely-settled country, devoid of means of communication, and with little diversity of industries; its parts recognized no centres of thought or of business, and teemed with sectional pride and local jealousies; it was a country always on the verge of dissolution from mere lack of the very elements of cohesiveness; in other words, the centrifugal tendency continually threatened to overcome the centripetal force. Unless it was doomed to destruction, it was for the government to hold such a country together. This was Hamilton's political faith, and in his day and generation Hamilton was right. But ours is another day and a different generation. Science has supplied that cohesive element which then it was the study of the statesman to provide. It is from the other side of the circle that danger is now to be anticipated; everything to-day centralizes itself; gravitation is the law. The centripetal force, unaided by government, working only through scientific sinews and nerves of steel and steam and lightning,—this centripetal force is daily overcoming all centrifugal action. The ultimate result can by thoughtful men no longer be ignored. Jefferson is right, and Hamilton is wrong.

“And thus, as the political error of yesterday becomes the truth of to-day, it is the thoroughly consistent man only who is hopelessly in error. The destinies of nations are much more frequently decided in the workshops of mechanics than in the cabinets of statesmen. When thus regarded, how small and immaterial appear the wrangling debates of the Senate and the clamor of the hustings! We turn from them to watch the genius of Franklin as from yonder hill it soars with his kite to



the cloud, or to think of Watt patiently bending in thought over the steam that jets from the nozzle of a tea-kettle. It is these men who within the century have saved for us the Constitution and shaped it to our needs.

"But to-day, Mr. Chairman, and in this presence, I cannot speak only of the present or of the influence of its science on the constitutional theories of the past. I remember that I am speaking for Massachusetts as well as for the year that is, and so my mind insensibly reverts to other times and other men, and to another member of the Old Thirteen.

"We have heard somewhat of late of the originators of what is called 'the written Constitution,' and of the framers of that particular instrument, the centennial of which we celebrate. I would in no degree detract from the credit which is theirs by right, nor from the encomiums which have here been lavished upon them. Honor to whom honor is due; and much honor from us, at least, is due to them. Verily, as of old so also now is that saying true,—'One soweth and another reapeth; . . . other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors.'

"But it was Pope, I believe, who wrote, fifty years before the Constitution was passed,—

'For forms of government let fools contest;  
Whate'er is best administered is best.'

While no one would, I suppose, give unqualified assent to this epigrammatic couplet, yet few will deny that it is a far less difficult task to devise and frame a paper constitution than to put a constitution, fresh from the hands of its framers, in practical and successful operation. Indeed, the world during the last hundred years and more has swarmed with constitution-makers,—or constitution-mongers, as they are sometimes irreverently called. Nearly a century ago Burke contemptuously described them, with their 'whole nests of pigeon-holes full of

constitutions ready-made, ticketed, sorted, and numbered, suited to every season and every fancy; some with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and some with the bottom at the top; some plain, some flowered, some distinguished for their simplicity, others for their complexity; some in long coats, and some in short cloaks; some in pantaloons, some without breeches; some with five-shilling qualifications, some totally unqualified.'

"In a world thus full of governmental contrivance, it has been, as Pope truly put it, less a question of ingenuity on paper than of administrative skill. Many nations on both continents have before and since the year 1800 framed cunningly-devised charters and forms of fundamental laws; the difficulty has almost invariably been that, when set upon its feet, the Constitution, as Carlyle phrased it, 'would not walk;' it is our boast that in America alone has the miracle been accomplished. Our Constitution has now 'walked' for an hundred years, and that is why we are here.

"Why has this Constitution 'walked' when so many others fell? That it did so, was, I hold, due to two men more than to all other men and all other circumstances, save one, combined,—those two men were not sons of Massachusetts, but of Virginia,—and to these two, more, far more than to the framers, are the honors of this occasion due.

"The aged historian of the United States, whose gathered years wellnigh cover the whole life of the nation, has recently recorded that the immediate successor of Washington, when in doubt as to whom the people would choose to the high office soon to be made vacant, declared that the Constitution was, even then, already so perfectly established that the system of government could not be departed from by any one, no matter who might be chosen President. 'Even Jefferson,' he wrote, 'could not stir a step in any other system than that which was

begun. . . . There is no more danger in a change [of the President] than there would be in changing a member of the Senate; and whoever lives to see it will own me a prophet.' Thus, in 1796, the miracle had already been performed,—the Constitution 'walked;' for eight years it had been administered by Washington, who during these years proved himself greater—far greater—in peace than before he had proved himself in war.

"Still, the Constitution, even as late as 1800, was, as it were, but in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone. The work of administration had been done; that of construction remained to do. Nations change, grow, expand; new and unforeseen conditions are developed; science, as I have already shown, works its results in the body politic much as the strong sap works in the young tree,—it is the unanticipated which occurs. Would the Constitution adapt itself as a garment to growing limbs, or would it bind them in swaddling-clothes of iron? This was the momentous question in the early years of the century. Again it was a son of Virginia who proved to be the right man in the right place; and for more than thirty years John Marshall presided over the tribunal which during that eventful period gave strength and consistence, elasticity and permanence, power to resist and capacity to receive—steel and India-rubber, gutta-percha and adamant—to that Constitution which Washington had taken from the hands of its framers and first made to 'walk.' The result we see to-day; and to these two men that result in greatest part is due.

"And in lauding them we laud ourselves. It has well been said that for the ordinary man it is enough of honor to speak great Shakespeare's tongue; and so we Americans may well take pride that we are descended from those who made Washington and Marshall possible. No individual can move far in advance of the people and of the age in which his lot is cast.

I hold, therefore, that it is praise enough for the average citizen of the United States, during the century which has now come to a close, to say that he was one of the supporting column at the head of which walked George Washington and John Marshall; for how shall even wise and valiant captains prevail unless they be followed by soldiers brave and intelligent, and what availeth a prophet unless he speaks to those who, having ears, are no less capable of understanding than of hearing? What volumes, then, does it speak of the political capacity and moral worth of a whole people, when history records that in the hour of trial men like Washington and Marshall came forth from the ranks, that the whole people put those men in their high places; followed and sustained them while they lived, and now, when only their work survives, honor and revere them, and give ear unto their precepts. As it was with our fathers so may it be with us; let us put our feet in their tracks, in which we can neither wander nor stumble." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN then said,—

"Emblem of our sovereign power, and itself of mighty force, because the sword now borne sheathed would, if drawn in a righteous cause by an united America, become wellnigh irresistible, I give you the toast of 'THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,' and call on that most gallant of soldiers and truest-hearted of comrades, Lieutenant-General PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, for a response."

GENERAL SHERIDAN said,—

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—I never discussed the Constitution very much, nor made many speeches upon it, but I have done a good deal of fighting for it. [Great applause.] But I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing my thanks, my grate-

ful acknowledgments, and my sincere gratitude to the Centennial Commission and to the citizens of Philadelphia for inviting me to be present on this occasion. It has been a delightful occasion to me, and it is one which will always be dear to my memory. It is the first centennial of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and I have no doubt that every soldier in the Army entertains the sentiments I feel, because the old regular Army has a representation here. [Applause.] As you know, for many years we have been cut off from all these occasions where there was a chance for a little patriotic feeling, and we have been as it were forgotten. Now, I hope, we are to come in and will be able to participate in these celebrations the same as other citizens.

“The so-called Army of the United States, gentlemen, is very small, I am sorry to say, but it is the Army of sixty millions of people, and if they are satisfied with it nobody has any right to complain. [Applause.] The officers of that Army are a highly-educated body of gentlemen. There is none more so in any profession. The soldiers are well disciplined, subordinate, and obedient to all demands made upon them.

“We see the time coming when we will not be so much engaged in Indian hostilities. Then we will be willing to come and join with the State forces and cordially co-operate with them, so that in the event of any necessity we can mobilize a good strong army in this country. [Applause.] The regular Army of the United States is a mere fiction. The real Army of the United States is all the able-bodied citizens of the United States capable of bearing arms. Mobilized it would amount to four or five million good soldiers.

“Now, if all the shipping in Europe were allowed to come over here carrying men and materials of war, and the Navy under Admiral Luce was to let them come over, without interfering with them in any way, they could not carry men and

war-material enough to make one campaign. [Applause.] So that the Army of the United States, in that sense, would be about the largest army in the world ; but, as it is found to-day, it is about the smallest.

“I am rather on the side of Senator Ingalls in what he said to-night. He wants to make a continental republic of this country. But there is one thing that you should appreciate, and that is that the improvement in guns and in the material of war, in dynamite and other explosives, and in breech-loading guns, is rapidly bringing us to a period when war will eliminate itself, when we can no longer stand up and fight each other in battle, and when we will have to resort to something else. Now, what will that ‘something else’ be? It will be arbitration. [Applause.] I mean what I say when I express the belief that if any one now present here could live until the next centennial he would find that arbitration will rule the world.” [Cheers and continued applause.]

The CHAIRMAN said,—

“Peace is most sure when war is least to be feared. The glorious annals of our Navy remain among our proudest possessions. Our gallant officers and men are now, we know, as brave as ever were the bravest. But proud recollections and present security may dull the ear to calls of future needs. And in giving you the toast of ‘THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES,’ I would couple with it the prayer that a wisely liberal policy on the part of successive governments may ever maintain it as befits the dignity and the position of this great wave-washed land.

“I would beg to call on Rear-Admiral STEPHEN B. LUCE to respond.”

ADMIRAL LUCE replied as follows :

"In behalf of my brother officers of the naval profession and myself, I return our cordial thanks for the honor conferred upon the Navy upon this momentous occasion. And, in doing so, it is with a feeling of exultation that I find myself able to announce that, in the grand march of events which has distinguished the centennial year just closed, the Navy has not fallen in the rear. Small in mere numerical force, it has yet kept pace with the intellectual progress of the age. In that respect, at least, it may safely challenge a comparison with any of the navies of the Old World.

"While the century was still young, the school of the naval officer was on the quarter-deck. It was there that the 'young gentlemen' learned their first lessons in that art of seamanship which formed one of the distinguishing features of our early Navy, and contributed so largely to our successes in the War of 1812.

"In 1838 the first attempt to furnish our midshipmen with something like educational facilities was made here in the city of Philadelphia, at the Naval Asylum, then under the governorship of the gallant Commodore James Biddle, of this city. It was at the Naval Asylum that the distinguished admiral of the Navy and the vice-admiral passed their examinations for promotion.

"But a longing on the part of our officers for wider fields of knowledge soon developed itself. The Naval Lyceum, established at the Navy Yard, New York, in 1833, was organized for the express purpose of 'promoting a diffusion of useful knowledge.' It published a *Naval Magazine*, at that time the only one, and for many years the best, that had appeared in this country. This was followed in 1838 by the exploring expedition under Lieutenant (the late Rear-Admiral) Charles Wilkes. A depot of charts and instruments had already been

established in the Navy Department as early as 1830, and astronomical observations had been made by Lieutenant Wilkes, the first, it is believed, undertaken in this country. On the departure of the exploring expedition, commanded by the officer just named, these observations, conducted by Lieutenant James M. Gillis, were continued, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, for the purpose of determining differences of longitude with the stations which might be occupied by the expedition.

“Such was the origin of the Naval Observatory at Washington, an institution which, besides its valuable contributions to the science of astronomy, has done so much towards the more thorough instruction of our officers in nautical astronomy and the cultivation of their taste for the science itself.

“Astronomical observations, originally undertaken in an unpretending manner by our naval officers, carried on in conjunction with the great naval expedition, undertaken in the interests of science, and continued for the better part of the century under the superintendency of naval officers, it is only natural that we have always claimed, and always will claim, the outgrowth of these early endeavors, the Naval Observatory at Washington, as our peculiar property. It is the living witness of the progressive spirit of the Navy. And it is a high tribute, indeed, to the success of the naval administration of the Observatory that the French government, profiting by our example, has placed a naval officer, Rear-Admiral Mouchez, in charge of the National Observatory in France.

“The coast survey had already begun its great work, employing many naval officers on the hydrography of our rivers and harbors, and on the inshore and deep-sea soundings. This special branch of the public service has expanded with the rest. The hydrographic office, with its extensive fields of research, is rendering good service to our navigation interests, as all our seaport towns will attest, and the labors of Com-



mander C. D. Sigsbee and Lieutenant J. E. Pillsbury, United States Navy, with ingeniously-contrived instruments, of their own invention, in examining the origin, extent, phenomenon, and influence of the Gulf Stream, will doubtless prove among the most valuable contributions of the day to the physical geography of the sea. The deep-sea soundings and surveys in distant parts of the world, the correction of longitude by telegraphic comparisons of time, the light-house service, all give employment to a body of officers who, while rendering good service to the country, are obtaining more extended knowledge and experience in those special branches of their profession.

“That our naval officers are found qualified for so much scientific work is due, mainly, to the Naval Academy.

“The Naval Academy rendered possible, or rather has resulted in, the Naval Institute, which was established ‘for the advancement of professional and scientific knowledge in the Navy.’ Its publications have already enriched our professional literature.

“The Naval Academy rendered possible the office of Naval Intelligence, which, though of recent origin, has, by its rapid growth and extensive researches, become one of the most important adjuncts of the Navy Department. And by a natural law of development the Naval Academy has produced the Torpedo School and that crowning glory of our educational system, the Naval War College, the like of which, for the breadth and comprehensiveness of its scheme of lectures on the science and art of war and on international law, is not to be found in any other country in the world.

“This is a record of which the Navy may be justly proud.

“Nor have our seamen been neglected. Our training squadron is bringing out a class of young sailors, who for their loyalty, habits of discipline, intelligence, and their remarkable aptitude for acquiring a knowledge of the use of

modern arms and the various naval appliance to be found on board the later types of ships of war, will compare favorably with any body of seamen in the world.

"Thus much for the personnel of the Navy.

"With regard to ships of war we certainly enjoy an enviable reputation. In numerical force alone have we been found wanting.

"From the frigates built in '97 to those launched in '55 we have excelled other nations in the beauty, strength, and fighting qualities of our men of war.

"Those magnificent specimens of naval architecture known as the *Minnesota* class, carrying batteries until then unthought of, were for years the objects of universal admiration.

"Will any one have the hardihood to say that this bright chapter in our history shall suddenly and forever close?

"The history of every navy shows that each in its turn has had its flood-tide of prosperity as well as its periods of depression. Our own forms no exception to the rule. But the extremes with us have never been excessive.

"In the early days of the century ship-building flourished most generously where ship-timber abounded, and during long years ship-building formed one of the principal industries of our eastern coasts. But now, the naval architect, abandoning the timber lands, looks for his materials in the iron and coal regions, and the banks of the Delaware have now become the birthplace and cradle of the New Navy.

"The city of Philadelphia has been associated with the history of the Navy in a peculiar manner.

"The remains of the *Alliance*, the last ship of the Continental Navy, and consort of the *Bonhomme Richard*, during her celebrated fight under Paul Jones in 1779, now lies upon her shores.

"During an interval of twelve years we had no Navy. But

the Continental Navy died only as the fruitful seed dies to germinate and bring forth more abundantly ; and not long after the adoption of the Constitution measures were taken to build a Navy, and the frigate *United States*, launched in Philadelphia in '97, was the first ship afloat of the Navy under our government as at present organized.

“And now we have the beautiful *Dolphin*, the first ship of the Navy of steel.

“The Navy is small indeed, and if sixty millions of people deem that it shall remain so, we, of the profession, cheerfully acquiesce in their decision.

“But when, in the fulness of time and the wisdom of Congress, the burdens which now embarrass our mercantile marine shall be removed, and our ocean commerce shall once more spread over every sea, then will the Navy attain its full and natural growth, not in numbers perhaps, but in the perfection of its organization and means and capacity of expansion.

“A change in the colors or device of a flag generally indicates a change in the political conditions of the country it represents.

“But our beautiful flag during the century just closing has changed only in the lustre and abundance of the stars in its canton. Let us pray that those stars—symbols of our States—may never be subject to perturbation nor occultation ; but that each one may, like the celestial spheres, silently and steadfastly follow its appointed course in perfect harmony with law and order, and in humble submission to the will of the Great Ruler of all.” [Applause.]

“In rising to propose the next toast,” said the CHAIRMAN, “I confess I feel myself almost unable to confine within the limits of a few formal phrases the thoughts and emotions which are suggested by the theme. Deep in the very constitution of our

natures, stamped ineradicably in the structure of our frames, the qualities of race assert themselves. The force of heredity cannot be evaded. Temporary dissensions may alienate, fierce passions may throw into deadly conflict, the members of a family, the sections of a race. Wide separation, divergent interests, may well-nigh efface all apparent kinship for a time. But the fundamental and germinal principles still persist in common; and, though evolution permits variety, it will never break the links which bind the distant descendants to the ancestral type. Here in America we have welcomed millions from many lands. Our race is no longer of simple strain, but the manifold currents have crossed and blended, and have flowed through such new environment of climate and social conditions, that out of this it might seem as though there would come a new type,—a new race. Yet we may be sure that forever there will be stamped on its character those grand prominent traits which mark the Anglo-Saxon; that as our people become more thoroughly acclimated there will be a tendency to revert to the parent type; and that there will remain an abiding and it may well be an ever deepening and strengthening sense of true kinship with the older portions of the race. The Greater Britain and the Greater America must have many—very many—things in common in their future. And surely the time will never come, no matter what temporary differences of policy may arise, when the very magnitude of our common interests; when the interests and aspirations of our common race; when the glorious heritage of our common possessions—our language, our history, our heroes, our law, our liberty, civil and religious—will not make us Americans ready as now to gladly pledge ‘England, our Mother Country.’

“We had hoped to have with us to-night one who through a long career has devoted his splendid powers and his inex-

haustible energy to the sacred cause of liberty, political and religious. But although Mr. Gladstone is unavoidably absent, we are favored with the presence of one who embodies in himself in a peculiar sense all that could entitle him to reply to this toast on this historic occasion,—a profound scholar and scientist; eminent as an educator, liberal and progressive as a statesman; endeared to all by his services in the cause of truth and liberty, and yet further allied to America by the closest ties a man can form.

“I call on Rt. Hon. SIR LYON PLAYFAIR to respond to this toast of ‘ENGLAND, OUR MOTHER COUNTRY.’”

Said SIR LYON PLAYFAIR,—

“MR. CHAIRMAN,—It is impossible for an Englishman to reply without emotion to a toast such as this, or without mingled feelings of pride, humiliation, and confidence. With pride, because this celebration is the triumph of the principles of political liberty and of constitutional government of a people by the people, in entire accord with the great traditions which have made England the cradle of political liberty. [Applause.] With humiliation, because England, in the reaction which followed the Cromwellian revolution and which lasted until the close of the reign of George III., forgot many of its old traditions, and in its relation with the American colonies tried to suppress instead of foster the growth of government by the people. With confidence, because England and the United States now know that they are the chief guardians of political liberty and constitutional government throughout the world, and that they ought to be linked for evermore by the bonds of friendship and kinsmanship. [Applause.]

“On such an occasion as this you will not desire that I should refer to the political blunders of England which led to

the wars of the independence and of 1812. In our present mood you would rather acknowledge the benefits which you have received from the mother country in laying the foundations of constitutional government. Your ancestors brought with them, as their most precious birthright, the principles of constitutional liberty. The Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the common law are your safeguards for liberty as they are our safeguards in England.

"Cromwell was the political father of Washington, because both were champions of individual and constitutional liberty, and they both taught kings that government can only secure permanent obedience when it consults the safety and happiness of the people. The acts which led to the outbreak at Lexington and the battle of Bunker Hill were in themselves not very oppressive, but they were a continuation of slow and constant interference with the natural growth of constitutional liberty. The whole country uprose after the final tea-party, which was given to the British at Griffin's Wharf, in Boston, because the people knew, though they had scarcely felt the tyranny, that the mere exposure to it was the destruction of freedom.

"For what avail the plough or sail  
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

"How I wish that either of those whom I am proud to call my friends, William Gladstone or John Bright [cheers], were here to-day to reply to the toast now given. I am only an humble Englishman, half scientist, half politician, with no other claim to address you than the fact that while I ardently love my own country, I warmly love yours also.

"I speak in a city which framed the Declaration of Independence and built the Constitution. If Boston may claim the credit of infusing fresh blood into the young commonwealth, it was in Philadelphia that its brain was nurtured and matured.

"The occasion of this celebration, the place and all its environments inspire thoughts, but do not fit them for condensation into an after-dinner speech. I shall say nothing more as to your War of Independence beyond this, that without it you would never have become a great nation. Great nations must have a history, and that war created history for you and gave you illustrious traditions and ancestors of your own to whom you can point with pride as the founders of your fatherland. [Applause.]

"This day we are celebrating your second, though peaceful, revolution. It is true that the thirteen States had become a nation by a loose confederation. But that nation, though of one promise, had thirteen performances, and no nation has ever preserved its unity with even two executives. It was, therefore, a veritable revolution when the Convention of 1787 framed that marvellous production of human genius, political foresight, and practical sagacity,—the Constitution of the United States. Its first words, 'We, the people of the United States,' not 'We, the States,' show the greatness of the revolution. It was as if the people had instructed the Convention in the words of Shakespeare, 'We must have liberty withal, as large a Charter as the wind.' The Anglo-Saxon spirit breathes through every word of the Constitution. Notwithstanding your boundless and continuous territory, its framers recollected that great free nations only succeed when they are composed of smaller States, because there is a longing among men of our race for local independence as opposed to centralization. With what skill and wisdom were the executive powers given to the nation while all the essentials of local government were reserved to the States. Ah, there were intellectual giants in those days. When will you, or the lovers of liberty throughout the world, ever forget the names of the master builders of the Constitution,—Washington, Hamilton, Sherman, Madison,

Pinckney, and the aged Franklin? It does not lessen but it enhances the value of the Constitution that the best parts of English constitutional law are preserved in it set like jewels in a golden casket. Hamilton gloried in this fact at a later time. And so the Constitution, both in its inception and execution even in your last terrible struggle for unity, has remained the bright polar star of liberty. When I think of it I feel inclined to exclaim, in the words of Shakespeare, 'How beauteous mankind is: O, brave new World that has such people in't.'

"But, in speaking of the object of this celebration, I have left but a few moments to reply to the sentiment of the toast, 'Our Mother Country.' The people of the United States as well as the people of the United Kingdom are the joint and common possessor of their respective glories and traditions.

"Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and Locke, Burns, Scott, and Moore, are your great authors as they are ours. When I see their statues in your parks or museums I think it quite as natural as when I see the monument of Longfellow in Westminster Cathedral. As you grow older in history our great Walhalla in London will claim its right to possess a record and share in the illustrious men born on this side of the Atlantic. Even now, Emerson, Longfellow, Wendell Holmes, and Whittier are the cherished inmates of every cultivated English home. Hume and Macaulay teach history to your schools just as Prescott, Motley, and Parkman extend historical knowledge in England. Science has no country, though its investigators have birthplaces. In Philadelphia I, as an ex-professor, cannot forget that one man to whom all my life I have given hero-worship lived and labored in this city. In his old age he co-operated with Washington to humble King George III. But before that he had actually swept out of the universe a much more powerful prince. When Benjamin Franklin drew down lightning from the clouds he freed religion from a



degrading superstition. Till then the 'Prince of the Power of the Air' troubled the world with thunder-storms, and Popes blessed bells and set them ringing to frighten the turbulent prince. Franklin was more powerful than the Popes, for he knocked the prince on the head,—

*"Eripuit cælo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis."*

"Another of your great Americans, Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), taught mankind the correlation of forces, and founded the Royal Institution in London, which has produced a Davy, a Faraday, and a Tyndall. It was right that an Englishman should found your great Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

"Long may we cherish our common possessions and national sympathies. When America rejoices England is glad. When you mourn a great national calamity we join in your grief. When Lincoln and Garfield fell by the acts of assassins, the colors of English ships all over the world were lowered 'half-mast' in honor of their great names. At the death of your great general, Grant, I felt I was with you in body and spirit when I attended the solemn services at Westminster Cathedral in commemoration of his services to your country and to the cause of liberty throughout the world. When Ireland, unhappy Ireland, suffered from famine, we do not forget that the United States sent over a frigate laden with provisions for the starving people. Your acts of sympathy with us in our joys and sorrows have been many. Let us continue to cherish our common glories and past traditions, and never cease to aim at a community of interests and pride in our national prosperity.

"It is no insignificant evidence of the friendly feeling now existing between England and the United States that a memorial, signed by more than two hundred members of

Parliament, is about to be presented to the President, urging that any political differences which may from time to time arise between the two countries should in the last resort be settled by arbitration. This memorial is the actual outcome of the workingmen of England, who have pressed it upon their representatives.

"I know that I have been far too long, but you will forgive me because the toast unites two great nations in one sentiment. The small islands in the northern seas from which your ancestors came to found this great nation even now contain only thirty-six millions of people, while already you have sixty millions, and have in your vast continent an immense potentiality of growth. We know that you must become our big brother, and we ask you to cherish in the future that feeling of pride in our common ancestry and that sympathy for an allied people which we now possess. If we do so the great Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world will become a security for peace and a surety for the continued growth of Constitutional Liberty."

Said Provost PEPPER,—

"If time permitted, it would be pleasant to have placed, instead of the toast which is now to be offered, a series embracing all of the foreign powers which, by their friendly attitude during and after the Revolution, did so much to cheer the courage and strengthen the hands of the struggling nation. It indicates no lack of grateful remembrance of each and all of them that we have felt ourselves restricted to a special mention of that one power which, by her enthusiastic sympathy, by the prestige of her powerful friendship, by her repeated and liberal advances of money, by the services of her gallant sons, contributed so influentially to our success. It would, indeed, be strange if, on such an occasion as this, we

should not give voice to the deep feelings of gratitude which we have ever continued to entertain for her,—a gratitude heightened by the enthusiastic attachment long felt for the chivalrous and high-minded Lafayette, the beloved friend of our great leader. As late as 1824, Everett could say, addressing Lafayette at Harvard College, ‘that he had returned in his age to receive the gratitude of the nation to which he devoted his youth,’ and could bid him ‘enjoy a triumph such as never conqueror or monarch enjoyed, the assurance that throughout America there is not a bosom which does not beat with joy and gratitude at the sound of his name.’ Deeply as Philadelphia has been stirred at this historic time, the arrival of Lafayette in this city evoked an almost equal enthusiasm. Nor was this excessive or unwarranted, because it was universally felt that in him were symbolized not only personal heroism and devotion to the cause of human liberty, but the generous and almost fraternal sentiments and conduct of France toward us at the most critical moment in our history. It is a most felicitous coincidence that we are favored to-night by the presence of one who has kindly consented to respond to the toast I am about to offer, and who not only appears as a most fitting representative of France, but, through family ties, of Lafayette also. I would pledge, therefore, ‘FRANCE,—OUR OLD ALLY,’ and request the MARQUIS DE CHAMBRUN to reply to this toast.”

The MARQUIS DE CHAMBRUN said,—

“MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—The history of the alliance between the United States and France is in some respects a very curious one. A solemn treaty was signed in 1778 between the Court of Versailles and the government of the insurgent colonies; according to the stipulations contained therein, France sent her army and her fleet to assist the

thirteen colonies in the Revolutionary War, and history has recorded with what success this determined action was attended. But, a few years later, when the government of France called upon the United States to execute in turn its obligations under the same treaty, President Washington, supported by the most prominent, the most patriotic men of his time, declined to comply with such a demand; he asserted the international independence of the United States, enforced a policy of absolute neutrality; and in his Farewell Address warned his countrymen against a policy of 'entangling alliances.' At first blush what strange contrast this change of faith seems to disclose. Nevertheless, France so well appreciated the wisdom of Washington that, in 1800, the First Consul, Bonaparte, assented to the abrogation of the Treaty of Alliance. And I may say that to-day an examination of the statute books show that there are fewer treaty stipulations in force between the United States and France than between the United States and Belgium, for instance.

"Nevertheless, I claim that there is, as there always has been, a feeling of friendship existing between the two countries which is above and beyond the scope of treaty stipulations and of 'entangling alliances.' What is the cause of it? The cause is the same that a celebrated moralist, Pascal, ascribed to love. Pascal said that love could not exist without a 'linking of thoughts;' and I claim that as between France and the United States there is a linking of thoughts. [Applause.] The French mind was the first in Europe which foresaw what this continent would become, it was also the first which came forward to assist in its growth. [Applause.] Here let me quote to you an anecdote which I do not believe has ever been printed. In 1800, or a little later, General Lafayette was invited to a state dinner given by General Bonaparte, then First Consul. At that state dinner were

Moreau, Massena, and nearly all those generals who had fought in Europe for about eight years, and who had conquered part of it. During the dinner the conversation turned upon the victories of each of those men. General Lafayette remained perfectly silent until Bonaparte turned to him and said, 'Why, General Lafayette, you do not say anything about your campaigns in America? Please speak to us on them.' The general, noticing a little smile of derision on the lips of the generals who had just spoken, said, 'I will not allude, Citizen First Consul, to such skirmishes, though these skirmishes have decided the fate of a continent.' [Applause.]

"I say, again, that no European thinkers and writers have understood American institutions so well as the French have done. I ask the gentlemen of great learning who are here to-night whether there is a more philosophical book, a more graphic description of the United States than that written by Alexis de Tocqueville under the title of 'Democracy in America?' Far from contradicting what a distinguished Englishman has said to-night, I agreed with him when he stated that as between you and England there is the tie of the Magna Charta, of the Habeas Corpus, the 'linking of thoughts,' binding together both countries, the writings of Shakespeare that have prepared and maintained the intellectual unity of all the English-speaking people, and this still greater fact that England has produced America.

"But, on the other hand, I contend on behalf of France that as between the United States and France there exist these very 'linking of thoughts' that resulted in both countries from the application of such democratic principles, of such ideas of intellectual freedom, which in many respects unite to-day both nations in the work of securing the moral, the intellectual, and the material progress of the people.

"My friend, if he will allow me to call him such, General

Sheridan, spoke of the Army of the United States and of the possible creation of an army of millions of soldiers. If he will allow me I will suggest to him that besides these millions of armed men there are still other millions of soldiers who are continually on duty in this country,—I refer to those immense armies of pioneers that have opened the West and created new countries. They have done this not by war, not at the cost of human lives, but by the most legitimate, the most honest, and the most peaceful means. They have conquered the wilderness and appropriated it to the uses of Christian communities, so that to-day millions of human beings are thanking God for the home and the freedom that was secured, and for the civilization that was bestowed upon them under the Constitution and under the laws of the United States.

“I think that the Constitution of the United States is the most perfectly-written Constitution in the history of the world. To test it, it must be compared with three other Constitutions; with the Constitution of Rome, with that of Venice, and with that of England. So long as Rome maintained her liberty she never succeeded in casting aside the privileges of a few families, and when the idea of a certain equality among classes and to a certain extent among men began to prevail the despotism of the emperors had suppressed the liberty of the Roman world.

“Venice was governed for five hundred years by a close aristocracy.

“England alone has transformed her institutions by the slow process of reform which political freedom has secured, so that she is nearing every day the very principles the enforcement of which the constitutions of the various States of America and the Constitution of the United States secured one hundred years ago on this continent; and let me express this sentiment, that I do heartily wish that these very principles that America has first asserted, that England is tending to recognize, that

France proclaimed in turn ninety-eight years ago, may be maintained where they are in full vigor, may be developed where they are asserting themselves, and grow where they are hardly in existence." [Applause.]

In proposing the next toast Dr. PEPPER said,—

"I trust that all here would have felt this Centennial Celebration to have been somewhat incomplete without this closing event which emphasizes not so much the material progress we have made, nor yet the material forces which we hold in reserve; as the vast power which education exerts among us, and the rapid development which has been effected, under the influence of our free institutions, by our societies for the promotion of letters, arts, and sciences. It is the wide diffusion of education in America which, more than anything else, has made possible the successful adaptation of the Constitution to every phase of our national life. It is to the continued extension of education, conjoined with the holy teachings of religion, that we look with confidence as the means by which all threatened dangers to our system of government shall be averted. I beg, therefore, to propose the toast of 'AMERICAN EDUCATION,' and to call for a response from Hon. ANDREW D. WHITE, Ex-President of Cornell University and formerly Minister to the Court of Berlin, one of our most distinguished educators, and an admirable example of the value of the scholar in public life."

Mr. WHITE said,—

"MR. PROVOST,—Nothing could seem at first sight more remote from the Constitution of the United States than the present growth of American education.

"A vast growth it is, indeed, with its schools numbered by hundreds of thousands, from the log cabin of our frontiers to

the stately edifices of our universities, with millions on millions of scholars of every grade, with hundreds of millions of money lavished upon it by the nation, the States, the municipalities, the rural hamlets, and with a growth of private munificence such as the world has never before seen: and yet not a word in the Constitution provides for this growth or even foreshadows it. And still it would not be hard to prove, first, that when the Constitution had been framed a vast educational development must follow normally and logically, and it would be still more easy to prove, next, that this great growth of education must take substantially its present form and no other.

“For, sir, what is the central and germinating force in this great educational evolution? Inherited ideas, the zeal of sects, the ambition of localities, the pride or patriotism of individuals have doubtless contributed much, yet they explain but a small part of it. What is the cause underlying a growth so deep, so broad, so vigorous?

“My answer is that it is an instinct—an instinct developed out of a conviction—an instinct and conviction growing ever more and more—that, without adequate provision for the education and enlightenment of the great majority of our citizens, we have no security for the maintenance of this vast complex of institutions, and especially of the Constitution of the United States, which is their radiant centre.

“The thoughtful observer of human history knows that this instinct is well founded; he knows that all the great republics of antiquity and of the mediæval period failed for want of that enlightenment which could enable their citizens to appreciate free institutions and maintain them. He knows, too, that most of the great efforts for republican institutions in modern times have been drowned in unreason, fanaticism, anarchy, and blood,—nay, he knows, even as to republics which are to-day successful, that unenlightened political conduct subjects them to



the greatest dangers at home, and gives force and point to the arguments of their enemies abroad.

"I am aware that many have claimed that a special divine illumination or inspiration is possessed by political aggregations of the human species; that there is in such great bodies, when they come to discuss political subjects, an inerrancy, an infallibility, which prevents their going far wrong. This doctrine takes shape in the famous declaration that the 'voice of the people is the voice of God.' In one sense history shows this statement to be true, for the voice of any people, whose God-given powers of mind, heart, and soul have not been properly developed, has ever been the voice of an avenging God against human unreason. The voice of an illiterate people made Marcus Aurelius and Philip II. more popular than Charles V.; Ferdinand, of Austria, more popular than Joseph II.; Henry VIII. and Charles II., of England, more popular than William III.,—nay, does not every child know that Barabbas was more popular than Jesus? An illiterate mass of men, large or small, is a mob. If such a mob has a hundred million of heads; if it extends from ice to coral, it is none the less a mob, and the voice of a mob has been in all time evil, for it has ever been the voice of a tyrant, conscious of power, unconscious of responsibility.

"There are many, also, who attribute to a Constitution so revered as ours a sort of magic force to restrain the wilder elements of liberty; but, after all, what constitution shall curb the despotism of a mob? The despotism of an individual may be, and has been, tempered by assassins, by epigrams, by historians, by a sense of responsibility; but how shall any such forces, how shall any sense of responsibility, be brought to bear upon a mob? It passes at one bound from extreme credulity towards demagogues to extreme scepticism towards statesmen; from mawkish sympathy for criminals to blood-thirsty ferocity

against the innocent; from the wildest rashness to the most abject fear. To rely upon a constitution to control such a mob would be like relying upon a cathedral organ to still the fury of a tornado. Build your Constitution as lordly as you may, let its ground tone of justice be the most profound, let its utterances of human right be trumpet-tongued, let its combinations of checks and balances be the most subtle; yet what statesman shall so play upon its mighty keys as to still the howling tempest of party spirit, or sectional prejudice, or race hatreds, sweeping through an illiterate mob crowding a continent?

“And, finally, it is said that a nation is educated to freedom by events and institutions. That is largely true; but the question is a question of price. The price of political education in a nation without intellectual and moral training is large indeed. It is generally centuries of time and oceans of blood and treasure. Think of the price paid for religious liberty in Germany, for civil liberty in England, for political liberty in France, for national unity everywhere.

“The great masses of our people may not be able to give all the elaborate reasons for their conviction that widespread education is a necessity, but these reasons have filtered down through them, and in the conviction and instinct thus created resides the strength of American education.

“So much, sir, for the indirect relation of the Constitution to education. I come now to its direct effect in giving to American education its present form. It was the boast of a minister of public instruction in one of the greatest European states that, at whatever hour in the day he opened his watch, he knew exactly what study was at that time occupying the attention of every scholar in that empire. Under the political system established by the Constitution of the United States no such boast can ever be possible. No autocrat or bureau-

crat or mandarin can ever thus confiscate the developing thought of the nation to the ambition of any sect, party, or individual.

“ Among the most profound remarks ever made by that great thinker, John Stuart Mill, is his statement that one of the greatest misfortunes in the education of a nation would be the establishment of uniformity under the name of unity ; that in the best national education there will be freedom to many systems, thus preventing mandarinism and stagnation, thus insuring that attrition between the minds of men educated to approach truth from various sides, and to state truth in various ways, which is the best guarantee for the healthful and perpetual development of the national thought.

“ This ideal of a national education the Constitution has insured to us. In the whole system there is substantial unity but no uniformity. Each State, each municipality, every individual has the largest freedom to work out the best results. Especially true is this of the higher education, and, though to a superficial observer the whole system is chaotic, the closer thinker will see a great cosmic force shaping the whole and developing a complete well-grounded system, growing with the growth and strengthening with the strength of the Republic. Of good omen is it, too, that the higher education throughout our country is occupying itself with the study of social and political problems as never before, and that more and more are coming from our universities men who, in the light of the best modern thought, can discuss the most important problems arising in this second century of the Constitution,—through the press, from the pulpit and professor’s chair, and in the halls of legislation. Especially noteworthy is the noble example set in the development of these studies by the University of Pennsylvania.

“ At the centre of the whole, Congress has established a

Bureau of Education. This would seem the logical outcome of our system,—not its lord but its servant, keeping as it were the standard time of the whole, recording the best results of experiments here and there, enabling all to profit by the example of each and each to profit by the example of all, but without a particle of power to impose a central will. It may, indeed, be said that in the whole growth of American education there is much boastful immaturity. This is true, but immaturity in a living organism means growth, and whatever boastfulness there may be is but a sign of growth, robust, luxuriant—not exotic, but prophetic of strength and long service.

“It is true, also, that this growth is not what many good men would have it. Some would have a vast system of primary schools and nothing more, some would stop with high schools and intermediate colleges, some would care for nothing save the universities.

“But the very laws of growth in the whole system bring all such narrow views to naught. For in this whole living growth of American education the public schools are the roots,—pushing deeply and broadly among the whole people and drawing in life from them; the academies and high schools are the stalwart trunk, rising strong from the roots and binding the whole growth in unity; and the universities, now beginning to spread broadly forth, are its boughs and branches bearing its foliage and bloom and fruitage,—gathering in light and life and aspiration from what is best in the whole atmosphere of the world’s science and literature and art; bringing it to circulate back through trunk and root, repaying what it has drawn from the people by new currents of ennobling and strengthening thought and endeavor.

“As well try, then, to cultivate a vast oak in hope of having it all root, or all trunk, or all foliage, as to create a worthy

system of American education without these three divisions of the organic whole.

"In the atmosphere diffused by this growth of American education we may have confidence that the Constitution will go on as a blessing to century after century,—that it will enable us to regard this ever-growing mass of citizens with assured hope of prosperity and to look into the faces of its soldiers without fear for liberty. We may have confidence that the foundations of the Constitution will grow ever firmer in the right reason of the people ; that its mighty buttresses will grow ever stronger in enlightened patriotism ; that the mists of faction which ignorance would throw around it shall be more and more dispelled until it shall stand in splendor unobscured, ray-ing forth justice and freedom to all the nations of the earth."

The CHAIRMAN,—

"I am sure that all who have enjoyed the splendid ceremonies of these three days will gladly join in the toast I am about to propose. But did all know—as we do who have been able to watch closely the long and anxious and skilful labor needed to secure the well-nigh perfect result—they would pledge, in the fullest bumpers of the evening, 'THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION AND THEIR ASSOCIATES,' to whose devoted and self-sacrificing exertions the country owes the success of this great celebration. I beg to call on Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, of Iowa, the President of the Commission, for a response."

He said,—

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—There is little need to interpret the purpose of the Commission in the celebration which has just closed. All who have listened to the speeches here to-night must be convinced that the demonstration of the three days has made one impression upon the hearts of every

lover of our country from the North and South, East and West.

“We had, indeed, a moral object in this celebration. At the end of a century of enormously augmented riches the time had come, in our judgment, to remind each true son of America—

“‘Thou wast not made for lucre,  
For pleasure nor for rest,  
Thou that art sprung from Freedom's loins  
And lipped thy milk from War's stern breast.’

On no previous occasion had there been a special effort to assemble representatives of all orders and classes, and from all parts of the country with a view to harmony of feeling and purpose. And we thought on this occasion that the North and East, the South and West, the common people, the rich and poor, the religious and secular, scientific and artistic, politicians of all loyal colors, in a word, that every element of national progress should be put upon one footing, one common ground, where all loyal people of this country could stand; which ground was the very foundation of their liberties and their prosperity. To emphasize their constitutional devotion we summoned also the descendants of the Fathers of our country, of the great names of the Revolution, and invited them to come and witness the popular devotion to the chartered liberties which their ancestors had established. Many of them came, and recalled with fitting pride the memories of their Fathers.

“God grant that our efforts may not have resulted in a vain show. You have heard the sentiments which have been expressed by the representatives of the South, the North, the East, and the West to-night; and I hear it of one representative from the distant South, that before he came to Philadelphia he had doubted whether this Constitution would stand another

hundred years. He should return feeling that its existence would not be limited by the year 1987, but that centennials of its creation might be celebrated upon their recurrence hereafter from century to century. Mr. President, we feel gratified at this and other like testimony to the morals inspired by our national festivities. Interpreting the sentiments of the Commission, I need only say that we acknowledge, with gratitude, the sympathetic and important aid which we have received from all the country, and especially from the people of your city. We heartily express our wish that Philadelphia may find at the Centennial one hundred years hence all parts of the continent joyously represented, and all animated by increased fervor and devotion to the interests of the Union and the Constitution." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN,—

"It is unnecessary to preface by any words of mine the last toast of this evening, since it was offered one hundred years ago at that memorable dinner to which allusion has already been made more than once. I beg you to join with me in the sentiment, 'HONOR AND IMMORTALITY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787,' to which Hon. HENRY M. HOYT, of Pennsylvania, will respond."

He said,—

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The last act of the week's pageant has been performed. The last blare of the trumpet has been silenced and the tread of freemen is no longer heard on our streets. The issues of a century of political and social life have been displayed in your presence.

"The time has come for the last word to be spoken. The hour admonishes us that this word should be short. Yet the

pious gravity of the sentiment you propose demands more than the momentary consideration we can give it,—

“‘Honor and immortality to the members of the Federal Convention of 1787.’

“These were the large and stately words with which the verdict of futurity was invoked upon the actors in the work just then completed and accepted by a body of citizens assembled, as you are, in thoughtful and patriotic festivities.

“This solemn appeal to the judgment of mankind has now been in the air for a hundred years. This prophetic submission of the fame of these men to the coming ages has reverberated through the ears of all men everywhere, and now, at the end of a century, returns to us as no empty echo. This brave challenge of their historical fate, in the final summary which posterity will make, then reverently risked in the terms of hope, we now accept in the terms of accomplished fact.

“Who were these men?

“Taken individually, they were large-minded, sincere, and brave men, who led honorable and honored lives among their fellows, and at the end descended into modest and, in some instances, obscure graves. The whole earth is now their sepulchre. We need not follow their personal fortunes. Our reverent duty to them is as ‘members of the Convention of 1787.’

“What, gentlemen, did this group of men, less than half a hundred in number, what did they do which had not been done by their predecessors in the aforesaid time? What was the precise work which they wrought, upon which we now, in the year of grace, 1887, predicate with such absoluteness, ‘honor and immortality?’

“Surely the idea of civil liberty was not a new one in their day. An older group of Englishmen, who, five hundred years



before, had put the clamps on King John, their feudal overlord, had not escaped the sweep of their historic survey. This group had asserted and defined forever the fundamental personal rights of life, liberty, and property. 'Magna Charta and all our statutes,' says Sir Edward Coke, 'are absolute and without any saving of sovereign power. Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign.'

"A hundred years before, in 1688, these same English forbearers had taught the final lesson of *constitutional government*,—the institution built on the supremacy of certain fixed principles,—'the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of Englishmen.'

"Precedents already existed of a government of the people by the people. Perhaps its solution did not stand out clear and distinct, but this problem had already been partly solved. It is to be reckoned among the beatitudes which have descended upon the authors of the Constitution of 1787, that their constituencies—the husbandmen strung along the Atlantic coast—were a free, proud, self-respecting people who rightly conceived their rights. In their profound consciousness of the infinite destiny of humanity, they had already, in their daily lives, exercised the *political power* necessary to protect their *personal rights* against any merely human authority which they themselves had not set up. Their corporate thought, definitely apprehended, only needed the wise and skilful formulation in clear-cut phrase, which it received at the hands of these faithful trustees of human interests.

"Human interests were presented in new aspects and with new possibilities to the group of men of whom we speak. They had not ignorantly generalized the facts of history. The career of Athens, under its democracy, will always fill some of the brightest and freshest pages in the annals of the race. Yet that was a government by the citizens of a single city. The pride and passion of mere citizenship has, perhaps, never

reached the height attained in the democracy of Kleisthenes and Pericles. Students of constitutional history lament the failure of the Greek to have enlarged his idea of nationality so as to include the fortunes of all Hellenes. The Macedonian soldier made an easy conquest of the splendid but warring cities whose statesmen had never reached the conception of a Federal Union of free cities having the same ideals and aspirations. The group of philosophers and orators who moved the *Ekklesia*, and whose words still move us, did not, at last, present an object-lesson from which the members of the Convention of 1787 could gather many maxims of practical conduct.

“But, after the Macedonian conquest, another group of men did arise in Greece who did reach the Federal idea and undertook to appropriate it. The Achaian League furnishes us with the first and most instructive lesson in the form of Confederated States. This league is the great exemplar of our own Union of Republics, and its analogies were widely sought and discussed in its formation. The idea of a federal union is a subtle and artificial one, and has only been attained three or four times in the history of the human family. Markos, Aratos, and their group, the authors of the Achaian League, missed the point of sovereignty, divided in balanced and harmonious measure between the separate States and the League. It was reserved to the members of the Convention of 1787 to disentangle the refinements of the dual sovereignty, and devise, for the first time, a frame of government which, while conceding the absolute municipal freedom and sovereignty of the States, should, at the same time, lead *the people*—the people of the whole nation—up to the exercise and performance of acts of *sovereignty, original*, and, in certain spheres, *unlimited*.

“This sounds commonplace to us. It is, however, of the essence of the work of the members of the Convention of

1787. It would unworthily become us to forget that our fathers borrowed something from the Confederation of the Swiss Cantons, upon which the Alpine heights have for ages shed the light of freedom, whose organizing power and unifying inspiration found their centre at Geneva. Nevertheless, it remains true that the Constitution of 1787 is the most complete compact between free and equal States which has yet issued from the hand of man. Whether consciously wrought or not, it has stood the practical test of two foreign wars. Our Civil War has served to renew and energize the sense of *nationality* which that Constitution, as it left the hands of its framers, brought into existence. We now know that the continent is not broad enough to hold the warring legions, nor the free air expansive enough to contain the hostile banners of a race, one in lineage, one in aspirations, and one in destiny.

"Everything which came down to these men out of the past, in any way touched with human interest, underwent a clarifying and perfecting process at their hands. They reduced to plain and easy propositions the wild speculations, and the vague and rhetorical declamation over the rights of man with which that other group of propagandists—the Encyclopedists—were, during the eighteenth century, inflaming the minds of France. These Saxons handed back to their Latin brethren their problem—solved.

"Our own great group—the group of 1787, bearing the names of Washington and Hamilton in their front—now take their places at the head of the column of immortals. *These men made a government, self-poised, self-preserving, everlasting*, we may believe.

"A great nation has more than the mere legal or political side of its life. There is the mighty congeries of activities which constitute its entire civic and social life. The Constitution of 1787 does something more than define the relation of the

States to the sovereignty which that Constitution creates. Our fathers did not intend to state a mere metaphysical puzzle, over which we were to go on forever chopping our vicious logic. That Constitution lays down and secures the entire body of rights under which all individuals unite in the pursuit of their happiness, and of those common aims of society which constitute what we call our civilization. Under it we exercise the vast energies, and, by virtue of its shield, we organize the vast industries and conduct the vast enterprises which make us a nation,—*one people*, something very different from the simple sum of units, whether individuals or States, composing it. In this aspect of the Constitution of 1787 we may contemplate it as containing the final form of a human compact under which all nations may unite in a common federal bond.

“Thus, after the voices of the orators in the Pnyx had for twenty centuries been silenced by the imperialism of Cæsars, and strangled by the sacerdotal absolutism of the Vatican,—‘the ghost of the old Roman empire sitting on the grave thereof,’—the voices of these men recalled awakened humanity to their rightful possessions and dignity. *Demos* again became king, to remain enthroned forever.

“Thus, after a struggle, which for two thousand years had thwarted the efforts of Europe to find out how to reverse the edicts of tyrants, the rescripts of emperors, and the decretals of pontiffs, this group of plain statesmen and philosophers in America stripped these bonds from their limbs, and, emerging into the welcome sunlight of liberty and toleration, from the supreme heights they had gained, defined to the right reason and wrote into the literature of the race the forms and limitations of organic law which freemen may be willing to impose on themselves.

“Thus, at last, the long reign of sterile scholasticism and infertile dogma was broken. The oppressive and degrading

parenthesis of the dark ages, in which all intellect had been locked up, was at an end. The basis of human thought was transformed. One of the great forward movements of the world was started.

“And, thus, the Philadelphia of 1787 became the climax of the Runnymede of 1215,—the one as the definition and assertion of the essential rights of man, as man; the other, as the mechanism for their security and the Ark of the preservation of free institutions.

“But, gentlemen, before parting with you, and remanding you to the fate which must overtake us all in the course of the next hundred years, I plead a moment in which I may speak to you from my stand-point, as a citizen of Pennsylvania and its metropolis, the city of Philadelphia.

“We have always held ourselves ready to extend such hospitalities to the friends of the Republic as our resources permitted. We have dedicated our halls and our streets, our hearthstones and our hearts, to the service of the friends of constitutional liberty. From the days which really tried men’s souls, out of which emerged in 1776 the Declaration of Independence—through the uncertain crisis when the delegates of the people were here in 1787 endeavoring to formulate their thoughts—in the glad Centennial Exhibition in 1876 of the fruits of a first century’s progress,—up to this crowning display in 1887 of a people’s power and happiness, we have endeavored to respond to every impulse which embodied the national purpose. When, a hundred years hence, our successors come here, as they will, let them read the memorial we now set up, of our homage to the men who framed our Constitution. Let them find the pledges, which we now renew, of our eternal constancy and fidelity to the work of our fathers and to the principles which they made immortal. When, a hundred years hence, our children place a mightier pageant on these streets, as they will,

let them find that we have dedicated to their uses, for their glory and happiness, all the resources of science and industry, literature and art, culture and conscience which may illustrate the power of a free people and adorn the annals of a State whose escutcheon bears the words, 'Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.' May they find the people everywhere seated on the throne of true power. May they solve the social problems yet outstanding on the lines laid down by the single-minded men whom we now commemorate.

"They left a Constitution capable of taking up all human interests so long as the people possess *constitutional morality* enough to defend and preserve it. Pennsylvania contributed eight signers to that instrument. The people behind them promptly ratified their work. They have had no misgivings about it since. We desire no separate existence as a State. We never had a scheme or a purpose which we could not execute to the full, in virtue of our membership in this Union. So long as our mountain peaks point to the heavens, and so long as our rivers flow to the sea, we shall render our supreme allegiance to the United States of America. God help us so to do." [Applause.]

Continuous calls being made for Ex-President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, he was introduced by the Chairman, and spoke as follows:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been my preference and I suppose my duty to remain to the end of the programme, not expecting to be called upon to add to it. The hour is too late to discuss any of these topics, and it seems to me if I were to say anything it would be simply to try to make, from what we have heard to-night, a short catalogue of results, for it is these which at last determine the value of every human effort.

"The truth is that, as to this frame of government that began one hundred years ago, the time has not come for deciding finally upon its value. One hundred years is not a lifetime in the history of a nation; it is hardly long enough for judging of the governmental framework; and yet already this Constitution has borne great fruit. First, it found us a weak confederation of States, loosely bound together by a rope of sand, and now, after one hundred years, as we hear from the South and the North and from all directions, ours is a nation bound together for good and bound together forever [applause], and is such a nation that we can say of it what can be said of no other nation of the globe. It can do without a great army because it needs none. It can do without a splendid navy, because it needs none. It can do without extensive fortifications, because it has no use for them. The prestige, the credit, the wealth, the future of this country, under the Constitution, are such that the country needs none of these things. [Applause.]

"We hear of such a nation being the great war power of a continent, and of such another as the great naval power of the world. It is the glory of America, under the Constitution, to be the great pacific power of the globe,—able without an army or navy to keep peace at home, and to command respect and consideration abroad. I thank the General of the Army, that gallant soldier whom we all admire so much, for the remarks he has made. He has foreseen the position which this country is to occupy in the future in favor of arbitration as a means of settling international difficulties. Our position is such that we can command a hearing by the world.

"Statesmen abroad expend all their powers in financial management to preserve their national credit; and yet, as all men can see, with their great debts growing larger and larger, all nations other than our own find their credit growing weaker

and weaker and poorer and poorer, while we, in spite of perennial financial blunders, find our credit growing better and better. [Applause.] The task of statesmanship abroad is to avoid a deficiency in revenue; our concern is how to get rid of our surplus. So it goes through the whole story.

"Mr. Chairman, it seems that I have got into a speech at the end of the programme, but I will finish with a sentence or two. To Washington, more than to any other man, we are indebted for the Constitution made by the fathers. He was attached to it with a devotion that was the master-passion of his soul. We call him 'the father of his country,' because he led it through the War of the Revolution. That was title enough. But he doubly earned that title by giving us, with his compatriots, our matchless Constitution which is now one hundred years old. That Constitution was the work also of Adams, Hamilton, Madison, Sherman, Franklin, and the immortal patriots associated with them. It challenges the admiration and praise of the great statesmen of Europe. Lincoln [applause], a name that ne'er shall sink while there is an echo left in the air, upheld it in the most anxious period in all our country's history, living for the Constitution and at last dying for the Constitution. [Cheers.]

"Finally, my friends, it is the best and the highest aspiration that I can utter for America and America's children in the ages that are to come, that they may be always, and altogether, worthy of the Constitution that their fathers bequeathed to them." [Great cheering.]

The CHAIRMAN then brought the banquet to a close with the following words:

"With these few heartfelt words of farewell we close the ceremonies of the first centennial celebration of the framing of the Constitution. We have striven to express, as best we might,



our admiration for the men who founded this government. Let us all enter the coming century with the resolution to so cherish the Constitution they gave to us, and to so serve the institutions which have grown up under its influence that they who shall meet here one hundred years from to-night shall look back to us as to men who, at whatever distance, followed faithfully in the footsteps of the immortal members of the Federal Convention of 1787."









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